2. Sam. 15: vers the 32.
Behold Hushai the Archite came to meet the King
with his coat rent and earth upon his head

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with his coat rent and earth upon his head

Loyalty amongst

REBELS.

The True

ROYALIST,

Or

HUSHAY the Archite.

A happy Counsellour in King's DAVID'S Greatest *Danger.*

Say unto Absalon I will be thy servant O King. 2 Sam. 15. 34.

I Counsel thee to keep the Kings Commandement, and that in Regard of the Oath of God. Eccles. 8. 2.

Written by EDWARD WOLLEY D.D. and Chaplain in Ordinary to his Sacred Majesty King CHARLES the II.

BODLEIANA BIBLIOTHECA

LONDON,

Printed for *Iohn Williams*, at the signe of the *Crown* in S. *Paul's* Churchyard. 1662.

To the Right Honourable
JOHN *Baron* Grenvil
of Kilkhampton *and* Biddiford, *Viſcount* Grenvil *of* Landſ-Down *and Earle of* Bathe, Groome *of the* Stool, *and firſt* Gentleman *of the* Bed-Chamber, *Lord* Warden *of the* Stanneryes, *Lord* Lieutenant *of the County of* Cornwall; *and High* Steward *of the* Dutchy *and* Govetnour *of his Majeſties* Town; Iſland, Fort *and* Caſtle *of the Garriſon of* Plimouth.

MY LORD,

I Have had the honour and happines to know

you from your tender years, and have discerned your cordial affections and endeavours, to serve the *Church*, as an obedient Sonne; your *Prince*, as a most Loyal Subject; & your *Countrey*,

trey, as a moſt faithful Patriot. And as *Pompey* (when but a youth) to experience your Fortitude, & fidelity to the Crown, and (without injury or flattery) it may, in ſome de-

gree, be ſaid of you, as *Plutarch* writes of that Noble *Roman*, *Is etiamnum adoleſcens, totum ſe factioni Syllanæ addixit; cumque nec Magiſtratus, nec Senator eſſet, magnum ex Italiâ con-*

contraxit exercitum. That you were a very early Commander in your youth, and thoſe four terrible wounds, which you received in the fight at *Newberry*; *three in your head, and one in*

in your arm: Continue those marks and cicatrices, which, as honourable badges of loyalty, will bear you company to your Grave. It was a question once started about *Ascanius* by

by *Andromache*: whether he was like his Father *Æneas* or his Vncle *Hector*,

Ecquid in antiquam virtutem animosque viriles
Et Pater Æneas, & a vunculus excitat Hector?
Andromache in Virgil: Aeneid de Ascanio.

But there is not any

any need of ſuch a queſtion concerning your Lordſhip, in whom the varietie of your Noble *Anceſtors* ſeem to concenter: So that the pietie of *Richardus de Granâ Villâ*, who found-

founded the *Abbey of Neath* in *Glamorgan-shire*, in the fourth year of the raigne of *King William Rufus*, liveth in you. The courage of *Sir Richard Grenvil*, your great Grandfather who com-

commanded the Vice-Admiral, a Ship called the *Revenge*; wherein he ſo gallantly behaved himſelf, that in a deſperate fight at Sea with the Spaniards, he ſunk & deſtroyed infinite numbers of

of *Qu. Elizabeths enemies*, when others made all the sail they could to avoid the danger.) And the loyalty and great worth of *Sir Bevill Grenvill* seem as thriving seeds to grow up, and flourish

flourish in you. And it will be an honour and happinesse to your Lordship, to be not onely a Son and Heire of his Name & loynes, but of his virtues; who so loved the *Church of England*,

land, that in perſon he guarded the late Lord Archbiſhop of Canterbury againſt the fury of the tumultuous Rabbles in all commotions and Rebellions; either of *England* and *Scotland*, (in the

late *blessed Kings Raign,*) he manifested the dutie of a Loyal Subject, and of a noble Commander, at the fight at *Stratton*; he was succesfsful againſt the enemie, with a handful of men;

And

And at the fight at *Lands-downe*; like another *Epaminondas*, though he loſt his life, he got the Victory: *Et cum ſentiret vulnus eſſe lethale, non prius ferrum eduxit, quam audiſſet Thebanos*

vicisse, tum satis inquit, vixi, invictus enim morior. To encourage his Souldiers; he fought with bleeding wounds, and finding that his countrey-men, like Gallant *Thebans*, won the day:

* * * *ani-*

animam efflavit; he fell gloriously into the bosome of true honour & renown: These exemplars of virtue have (doubtless) attracted your Resolutions to imitation of your Ancestors,

and have enflamed your affections with true and right principles of Nobleness and honour. But that which renders you most lovely to all who know your Lordship, is that in-

com-

comparable ſervice, which by your prudence, fidelity, ſecrecy, and courage: was tranſacted & effected, together with the *Duke of Albemarle*, and his brother the *Lord Biſhop of Here-*

Hereford: in order to his *Majesties* Restauration: which maketh *three Kingdomes* happy. This is the chiefest loadstone & motive, that makes me addresse to your Lordship

for

for patronage and protection in this argument, wherein I endeavour to prove; that *truth* may be in company with *Traitors*, and *Loyalty* amongst *Rebels*, as *Husbai the Archite* who was

King

King David's best friend, and most faithful subject in his greatest danger. It is true; many worthyes did attend his *Majesties Person*, in pinching extremityes abroad for many years,

years, and many thouſand loyal Subjects of the *three Kingdomes* indured inſupportable miſeries from uſurping & bloody Wolves at home, and the *ſtings* of a ſort of *Trepanning creeping*

ing

ing Servants, (as equally venemous as dangerous) hardly to be avoided. These true *Royalists* were (on all occasions) active in their persons, in their counsels, in their relations, & their friends

friends in their purſes, and their prayers, and by all wayes and interests, to promote his *Majesties Reſtauration*. But your *Lordship* (as a more ſignal inſtrument of much happineſs) hath re-

received gracious *markes* of Noble truſt, honour and favour, from his *Majeſty*; & the thanks of all *England* in the *Kingdomes* Repreſentative the *Parliament*, which will prove a happy

py *record* of your honour to posterity, and blessed for ever be those hands and hearts, who have contributed much, or cast in, if but a mite, to that blessed work. There is another small

& tender *branch*, which budded seasonably about *seven years* since, and appeared in the K*ingdom*; under the complexion and colour of a T*ranslation* in the case and Parallel of *Lewis*

the *fourth* the *French* King. This, first went abroad to keep alive those loyal sparks, which lay under the ashes of *Cruelty* and *Persecution*, in the year 1654. & meeting with curteous *** tinder,

tinder, it took fire, and inflamed many affections towards the *King*. This small piece was reprinted eight moneths before his *Majesties* return to *England*; and it proved so prospe-

rours, that some thousand copies were dispersed & vented in fourty houres. And then it grew suddenly a publick discourse in the City and Country (*videlicet*:) the *King's* Case in the

Parallel of *Lewis the fourth* of *France*: This Branch leans on your Lordships Patronage and favour, & is added to this discourse, to perpetuate all Subjects resolutions in their allegiance

giance to their *Princes*, and as a part of justice and merit, that his endeavours may be discerned, who gave it life, & first fixed and planted it in *England*, and so not to be any longer fathered on

Parallel of *Lewis the fourth* of *France*: This Branch leans on your Lordships Patronage and favour, & is added to this discourse, to perpetuate all Subjects resolutions in their allegiance

glance to their *Princes*, and as a part of justice and merit, that his endeavours may be discerned, who gave it life, & first fixed and planted it in *England*, and so not to be any longer fathered on

on adopted bu-
thors. * My Lord, I shall not afflict your Lordship with any further present trouble; but wishing the increase of happiness and honour, dayly to redound on your Lordship and

* Tulit alter honores. Virgil.

and your ennobled family. I cordially subscribe my Self, (*My honoured Lord,*)

Your Lordships faithfully obliged Servant

EDWARD WOLLEY, D.D.

LOYALTY AMONGST REBELS

The true Royalist OR *Hushai* the *Archite*

A happy Councellour in King *Davids* greatest danger.

DOminion and Soveraignities, the highest trust, and most illustrious gift that [a] God bestoweth on his creature man, for what degree can be more sublime then for one to

esse pluribus? leges & jussa ponere? maria terras. Pacem & rari? I. Lips. ad Reges imperat. Principes, Epist. dedica.

[a] *Quid majus inter homines, quam unum prabella moderari? Polit.*

be supream; and to command many thousands: to make lawes, and to impose decrees that shall force obedience. And having an influence on mens lives, liberties, and fortunes; to hold the raines of government in all affaires, both by sea and land, and by the rights of an unlimited just prerogative to have power to regulate and moderate the vicissitudes of Peace and War: and by grant and Commission from Heaven [b] to superintend, and to exercise an imperial and soveraign power in all concernments; whether Ecclesiastical, Civil or Martial: this dignity only suites and seemes fit for some terrestrial diety, * and therefore may justly expect and challenge a Person of Greatest worth and most compleat capacities; & the rather because the state of [d] Monarchy is the supreamest thing upon earth. And Kings are not only Gods Lievtenants upon earth, but by God himself they

b Cor. 3. 5.

* ὥσπερ θεοὶ πολλοὶ καὶ κύριοι πολλοί. Psal. 82. 6. *Dixi dii estis.* Proverb. 8. 15. *Per me Reges regnant.*

d K. *James* duty of a. K. in his Royal office. p. 2.

they are called Gods, whom they much resemble in several Attributes, of Wisdome, Power, justice, Mercy and the like. Thus Kings as mortal Gods create or destroy; make or unmake at pleasure, give life or send death to their subjects, are judges over all, & owe accompt to none but God, they humble or advance them at their pleasure; and as Arithmeticians placing their figures, cause their subjects (at their pleasure) to signifie a greater or smaller number, or to be as meer cyphers, that shall be utterly useless and insignificant. To this supream order of mortals, to Kings and soveraign Princes, is due the affection of the Soul and the service of the body from all their subjects. And from this principle and root of obedience springs up the branches of fidelity, Allegiance and Loyalty; which is to be paid and performed to lawful Kings and Princes, from all their subjects; none

but seditious and traiterous spirits dare affert the contrary; and this later Age hath too much been poysoned with such distillations and dangerous untruths: which, though they produced many horrid mischiefs and monsters, (the ugly common births of Rebellion and Treason,) are now unmasked and more clearly discerned, by the beames of experience; and a more perspicuous light which hath in a great proportion dispersed those mists and foggs that engendred and begat so many prodigious and horrid effects to a gracious * King, and a most unhappy and miserable People. † So then there needs no dispute nor direction of the Subjects to there duty, seeing all are involved to the rules of obedience, by the lawes of God and man, but it may be of some concernment to many, who love the company and comfort of a good conscience as Christians, and

* K. Charles the first the royal martyr.

† A Civil war and confusion and distractions of almost twenty yeares.

to

to others, who thirſt after nothing more, then true honour and Reputation, as men or ſubjects, to make a privy ſearch into their own ſoules, and ſo to bring there actions words and affections to the touch-ſtone of truth, whereby they may finde there failings from, or their performance in, their loyal duties towards their Soveraign; and ſo abandoning all excuſes, and waveing all unjuſt pretences, make out a happy ſatisfaction to themſelves: though not to others, who either too ſupercilious, as *Cato*,* or to rigid as *Timon* the *Athenian*, undiſcreetly or uncharitably cenſure all mens actions but their own, in this ſcrutining, that ſo neerly concerns honour and conſcience: the proceedings ought to be impartial, and the examination ſtrickt, becauſe the concernment is ſo conſiderable, and

* *Cato uticenſis ſtoica diſciplina ſeverus; nudis interdum pedibus, brevique toga in Publicum prodibat. Plut. Timon Athenienſis temporibus Peloponnenſi belli, inhumanus, ab Athenienſibus μισάνθρωπος, appellatus quaſi genus hominum infenſum fuerit. Cæs. Sirpha.*

in this particular, neither politick rules, great and more eminent examples, nor glorious and advantagious ſucceſſes, are to guide or gratifie affections, or to blindfold and captivate reaſon; but an untainted judgement, ſetled and fixed on true principles of honour and Chriſtian ſincerity, is the trueſt light in ſuch a dark and dangerous path; where ſelf intereſt, flattery, opinion, hope, fear, and many ſuch inherent companions are induſtrious to divert good inclinations, and to exchange them from the love of virtue and truth. As to the rules of humain politicks (as muſh-rooms in a night) they are conceived in ſecrecy of Councels; and have their birth and appear in the day: and thoſe maximes are as alterable as the wind, which in an inſtant moveth from one point to another of the card or compaſs. As to examples, though never ſo great or numerous they are not to ſway,

a noble minde from what is truly honorable, nor a good Chriſtian from any point or tenet that is religious and juſt; and as to ſucceſſes, though never ſo proſperous, they ought not to move or prevail with a generous and pious ſpirit, to make him vicious, hyprocritical or falſe. For if honour be rather in the opinions or eſtimations of others, then in our ſelves rather in merit & truth, then titles and forced Ceremonies; and victory unjuſtly or more cunningly and obſcurely gotten, brings leſs of true renown: how ingrate muſt ſucceſſes to riches, and advancement to great places be without an honourable atchievement, & juſt acquiſition. Theſe conſiderations ſtated, a loyal perſon may more eaſily ſift himſelf, and after ſo many difficulties and tryals of a civil war, enter more ſecurely into the ſecrets of his own ſoul; and their removing all ſcruples, may more clearly diſ-

cerne how faithfully and sincerely he hath adhered too, or how perfidiously and falsly he hath apostated and fallen from his duty to God and to his King. It is true the world is too full of excuses and apologies, each person (clad with the resolutions of self interest, either too much magnifying his owne merits, or too much extenuating his own crimes and errors) is sick of self love. And as *Minerva* blowing a Flagellet or pipe puffed up her cheeks though to a deformity: many swell and grow big with the breath of self opinion, and though their wayes & workes have been never so dissonant or opposite to honour, reason or truth; Yet in a Thrasonical humour, or Pharisaical pride, they cry up and justifie all their own proceedings, with all the circumstances of their dictates and designes, and at the same time are ready to decry and detract from

others

others : though never ſo ſquare in their actions and ſincere and candid in all their reſolutions. Seeing then that *Philautia*, ſelf-love and adulation ſo eaſily, ſuddenly, and pleaſingly ſurpriſeth mens phanſies, corrupteth their judgements, captivateth reaſon: and in fine enſlaveth the ſoul, it may well become all who are truely enamored with virtue, honour, juſtice and the hopes of a good report, or (to mount a ſtep higher) to love the peace and tranquility of a calm and unſpotted conſcience, in this nice point, carefully to ſubmit there ſenſes to reaſon, and the ſtrength of reaſon, to the force and power of godlineſſe, which is the beſt preſervative of the ſoul in all trials and more refined probations.

And it is Piety that is the touch-ſtone that diſcovereth the mettall whether it be true or falſe; It is the ſcale that ballanceth every word and

and action, and determineth them either weighty or light. This as the rudder of the Ship governeth, as the anchor it holdeth, as the Pilot it directeth, and as the keile ſwimming in the bottom of the angry waves, it ſecureth and ſupporteth all the ſuperſtructure of the floating artificial Caſtle, that overglideth and ſurmounteth the lofty billowes of the Ocean. Conſcience is the daughter of Piety, which (grounded on the principles of truth, and a good cauſe,) encourageth men to be divinely affected towards God, and loyally reſolved towards their Prince. It is probable in this great revolution and ſtupendious viciſſitude of government, the ſtreames of the ſubjects affections, returning paſſionately to their King, and to monarchy, that all, or at leaſt the greateſt number of the people of the three Kingdomes may pleade a co-operation

on

on or a concurrency in this miraculous change. And as the labourers in the vineyard to boaſt and proclaim, that they have not only ſuffered and ſweat, but even born the brunt and bickerment of the day: others may perhaps challenge to themſelves the merit, not only of pardon and amneſty, but of thanks, grace and favour; becauſe they appeared ſerviceable at the laſt hour: and doubtleſs royal bounty will not deny them the wages of their loyalty, if their return to their Prince be cordial and ſincere. But the caſe of *Huſhai* the *Archite* ſtated rightly, may like a bright *Beacon* ſet on fire, and (flaming on ſome high Mountain,) give an Alarum, and luſter, to the amazement of all ſpectators. In this preſident of *Huſhai*, a loyal ſubject may ſee the warrant, the reaſons, the matter, the manner, and the truths of his duty, being ſuch an example in the King,

who

who imployed him in the perſon who was commanded and truſted, and for the eminency and concernment of the ſervice, wherein he was employed, that hardly any humain or holy hiſtory can parallel the like, and all theſe circumſtances conduce much to guide the Prince to his royal care, whom to truſt or employ, and as equally concerns the the ſubjects and people how to diſpoſe of themſelves even in their greateſt dangers of their lives and fortunes, towards their King and Soveraign. This hath been the condition of many gallant and loyal ſoules, who not only in their perſonal valour, but in all their contrivances, and councels, have made it their choiceſt intereſt, as equally near as the ſaving of their ſoules, to hold up the honour of the crown withall its juſt rites and prerogatives, ever ſince the firſt commotions, and troubles of the late war,

or

or that the late formidable rebellion had so intoxicated and bewitched the giddy humours of the People of his Majesties three kingdomes; and as persons of these affections, resolutions and principles were led and fixed to their Prince, so, a zealous duty to the Church of *England* their mother, wrought their perswasions, to a careful preservation of that truth and religion; which the most learned and most judicious sober Christians hold fourth, for, both doctrine and discipline to be the purest profession, the best form of serving God; and to come neerest to the pious practise of the primitive Christians: and though in the three Kingdomes, it was forced like a Dove to the clefts of the Rocks, to fly into upper chambers, private Closets, or secret corners, yet the honour of God, the saving of Soules, the beauty of Sion, was (ever during

ring the violence of the persecution) so precious, that the Church of *England* found dutiful children, and couragious Sons and Daughters in her blackest Afflictions. And as the Ark had the protection of a Royal Patron and nursing Father abroad for many years, so it was supported and preserved by the dutiful hands and hearts of many thousands of the three Kingdomes, whose very soules did pray and long for nothing more then his Majesties joyful Restoration, and that the Ark might return happily with him. And now (not to loose the argument) a review may be more Genuinely taken, and a stricter examination made in *Hushai* the *Architect* great and wise undertakings, and his happy and high performances and successes, both to the Church, the Crown and the Kingdome of *Judah* and *Israel*, for all, who made bonefires, caused Bells to ring, and with

K. Charles the 2.

with other external circumstances made Heaven and Earth to rejoice with chearful and loud acclamations: were not *Israelites* indeed, like *Nathaniel*, or wise and couragious and loyal *Hushai*: it may be believed that many who had wide throats and made loud vociferations at his Majesties return, had but narrow affections; and tis possible, that guilt or fear, or danger, may force a compliancy, where the stream was so strangely turned, and ran as a mighty Tide or torrent with such irresistable violence. Therefore *Hushai's* wisdome and loyalty, and the conduct of his affaires (in so dangerous a Crysis and juncture of extremities,) may prove a more happy Patern for all ages, and like *Ariadnes* clue of Silk, direct all worthy subjects, like *Theseus*, more prosperously to encounter the minotaure or monster of Rebellion; and having slain that bloudy and savage beast

more

more securely to return out of the labyrinth and intertigues of such Hellish delusion; in the company of true honour, triumph and victory: It is not to be doubted but many pretend to this noble *Israelites* worth and merits, who if rightly reflected on; know well (as conscious to themselves) that either they have forfeited their Faith and Allegiance ever since the original commencement of the late civil warrs, or in an over activity in their Rebellious endeavours, have done most horrid injuries to their King and Country, or in a tepid fit of Newtrality, have been lukewarm; and basely complacent to both parties, or else in a degree yet more ignoble and sordid, having (*animas venales*) vendible and mercenary spirits, have entertained the wages of iniquity, and under the guile and pretence of loyal subjects and faithful Patriots have betrayed

and

and destroyed the Prince and his People, or (if there can be any thing worse) there is a brood and generation of pretenders, to the best and most loyal services, because they attended in the Navie, that wafted & refluctuated the King into *England*; that they had adventured to *Breda*, to *Brussels* to *Holland*, to *France*, to *Germany*, that they had been active at home, and dutiful abroad, and had contrived and contributed most, both in their persons and purses, towards his Majesties Restauration.

And it were an unkindnesse, if not a crime to derogate from such pretensive merits: but the sting that causeth a sore swelling, is that these new brooms (returned to loyalty,) sweep all so clean, that they leave no work, not the least Atome of honour in this high concern to those nobler spirits, who never forfeited their fidelity to their King; but as *Hushai* ever walked by the influence

of his Majesties commission & commands, and in all conditions, whether active or passive, in the concerns of their Faith and Allegiance, never swerved, not so much as warped from their Native obedience, or from the rules and dictates of Honour and a good Conscience. This great *Hero* and exemplar of his fidelity to his Prince, is recorded in the Sacred book of God, and thence recommended to all subjects, of all ages, & of all Kingdomes, as a lively pattern to direct them in their duty and service towards their Soveraign; and in many excellencies he is hardly imitable, for the holy Historian
2 Sam. 15. tells the world, that this loyal *Israelite*, unsummon'd, unsent for, no sooner heard the news of the Kings sad condition, that *Absolon* was unnaturally turn'd Traitor against his Father. and the people in Rebellion against their King, but instantly this great worthy marcheth after his Prince

Prince, and finding him on the top of the Mount, where he worshiped God, he attended his Soveraign Lord with diligence and haste, though his sad posture presented the Affliction and sorrow of his soul, (for his coat was rent, and his head was covered with earth,) and what posture could better become a loyal heart, then what clearly expressed grief, or indignation, to see or hear of a disobedient Son persecuting a loving Father, or a stubborn deluded people infatuated into a high and horrid Rebellion: but *Husai* was neither startled at his Princes dangerous condition, nor consulted for his own safety, nor was catched with flattery and the large promises of the Traitors oyle and smooth tongue, nor did he dread or stand amazed, at the oraculous Counsells of *Achitophel*, (the grand politician,) but his Native duty conducts him speedily to wait on his Prince; and true and unspot-

ed loyallty & allegiance directing him in his march, without any doubts or disputes, laying his life at his Masters feet; he in an instant bespeaks himself a perfect Royalist, and so with his life, friends, and fortune ready to obey whatever commands the King thinks fit to impose upon him. Some noble Heathens have left to the world famous examples of their love and loyalty to their Princes; and to the shame and dishonour of many infamous Christians, have exceeded them for their fidelity and true allegiance. *Plutarch* * hath recorded *Hephæstion*, (to the memory of his immortal honour,) that he passionately loved and esteemed the person of *Alexander* the great, and in his discourse with *Craterus*, the Conquerour told him that *Hephæstion* did not only love him as a King, but did most affectionately honour him as *Alexander*. And it was a royal mark and dis-

* *Hephæstion unus ex Alex. magni ducibus; quem ille cum Cratero ita conterebatur; hunc quidem φιλοβασιλέα Hephæstionem vero φιλαλέξανδρον appellaret Plutarch. in vita Alexandri.*

distinction of *Alexanders* own creating, to stile *Craterus* a lover of the King, but *Hephaestion* a lover and admirer of *Alexander*, and it seems his duty to his Prince, as it received bounty from his Soveraign whiles he lived, was rewarded with high honour when he was dead, for the same Author affirmes, that this noble Emperour, in a grateful memory to so faithful a subject, and so couragious a commander, magnificently expended more then twelve thousand Talents upon his exequies and Funerals. There is such another passage of *Clitus* * who having been *Alexanders* nurces son, and in his person and Relations most serviceable to the King in many of his greatest dangers. The Emperour advanced him to great favours

* *Clitus inter praecipuos Alexan. Maced. familiares eidemque charissimus quod filius esset nutricis illius, tum quod ab illo in vita discrimine fuisset servatus: hunc in convivio liberius in Persicos mores invectum, Rex temulentus spiculo trajecit, cujus facti postridie tanta cepit paenitentia discussa jam ebrietate ut totum triduum à cibo abstinuerit, decreveritque omnino inedia sibi mortem concissere ac amicum optime de se meritum ad inferos persequi & sumptuoso eum funere sepelivit. Plutarc. in vita Alexandri.*

and

and enriched him with Princely munificency: and when a *Persian* intemperate excesse and debauchery had drown'd the Kings reason, and had raised a tempest in his passions; so that in his fury with a javelin he had slain his favourite: yet this sad accident so deeply affected the Emperour, when he had recovered his confounded reason, that he appeared to be overwhelmed in a gulf of shame and sorrow; and so giving rules for his own pennance, obliged himself to a hard duty; hence determining and decreeing, that his intemperance should be rewarded with penury, and that he who had so ignobly abused plenty, and in such extravagant luxury slain his friend, should justly dye and perish for want of food: hereby the King proposed a more speedy death to himself, that he might more suddenly follow the Ghost of *Clytus* to the imagined shades below. Such a character of

true

true worth and loyalty, *Darius* gave of his dear *Zophyrus*, who waging warr and besieging the vast City of *Babylon*, (but without successe or victory,) trusted the possibilities of the effecting of that design to the fidelity, courage and wisdome of faithfull *Zophyrus*, who the better to disguise himself and to accomplish the conquest with greater safety to his person, and more secure successe to his Soveraign, disfigured his face to a high deformity, and having permitted his ears, his † lips, and his nose to be cut off (as pretended by a *Persian* barbarous cruelty,) in this posture he addressed to the *Babylonians*, as an abused and tortured *Persian* fugitive, where being received and advanced to great trust and command as a General of their Army,

† *Nobilis Persa ipse sibi nasum, aures & labia amputavit & ita Babylonas, quasi transfuga se contulit conquerens de crudelitate sui Regis; receptus igitur a Babyloniis & dux belli constitutus, urbem Dario tradidit, unde Darius solebat dicere; se Zopyrion nullis integrum quam virginis capere Babylonas, Herod. lib. 4.*

by his prudence and valour subdued *Babylon*, and delivered the City to his own Master and Lord; for which signal service, *Darius* was wont to say familiarly, that he did owe so much true honour and respect to his dear *Zopyrus*, that he would rather have received him from *Babylon*, without any blemish or mutilation then to have twenty Cities such as *Babylon* subdued to his imperial Scepter. *Menelaus*, *Agamemnon*, and *Vlysses* had great service effected by the fidelity, ingenuity and courage of *Sinon* †, who like a stout daring and subtil Greek, insinuated and insnared the *Trojans* to their ruine, and so effected a happy successe, attended with much honour and renown to the Greeks in their long siege to *Troy*. *Marcus Antonius* was a true, faithful and loyal friend to *Cæsar*, and when he could do him no longer service in the Emperours life, being slain by the conspirators, he

† *Virgil 2. Æneidos.*

he took his royal Robe ſtained with blood, ſtabbed, cut and mangled, and making his funeral Orations to the people, fill'd their eyes with tears, their ſouls with ſorrow, and by degrees, drew them to vindicative reſolutions to revenge *Caſars* death; which cauſed *Cymber* and *Brutus* and the chief conſpirators to fly for fear of popular inſurrection & fury againſt the Traitors: the light of theſe Pagan & Heathen examples, is not ſo dim, but that it may ſerve to guide this preſent age into the paths of virtue, & reſolutions of loyalty: nay, it may ſerve as a help to detect and diſcover the falſhood, treachery, cowardiſe, and ignoble diſloyalty of many, whom neither the laws of God, nor of the Land, have been ſtrong enough to oblige them to the duty and Allegiance they owe and ought ever to pay to their Soveraign. But theſe, and all other morall examples of this kind, come

Plutarch in vita Bruti.

come infinitely short of that transcendent worth, that appeared so glorious in this noble *Israelite*; for their grounds were at best, but Honour, Emulation or Interest, and though founded on the basis of virtue, friendship, or fortitude, yet their chiefest Actions and endeavours were accompanied with vain glory and arrogancy, if not tainted and stained with revenge, proud ambition, or sordid avarice. But *Hushai* was led to his duty by the light of grace, by the gratitude of a noble mind, by the laws of God which commandeth [a] *Touch not mine Anointed*, because as the wiseman [b] asserteth *power is given to Kings from the Lord, and Sovereignty from the Highest*. St. *Paul*, therefore writing to the Roman Christians, directs in the Apostolical Canon [f] *Let every Soul be subject to the higher powers*. And this is backt with many reasons, because Kings receive

[a] Psal 105. [b] Wis. 6.3. *Data est à Domino potestas regibus, & virtus ab altissimo.* [f] Rom. 13. 1. Rom. 13. 4. *Non tantum summo magistratui sed infimis quibusvis magistratum potestate fungentibus debetur obedientia. Theod. Beza. Annota.*

receive their sword from God, because they are his ministers, because they are impowered to protect and punish, and from this principle and fountain of evangelical truth, it Naturally flows and follows, that Kings in their persons, and in their lawful heirs and successours, and in all their just rights and commands are to be observed and obeyed. Hence it is, that Iews and Christians, Greeks and Barbarians, all persons of all sorts, are commanded, to render to every man what is due, whether it be Tribute, fear or honour; and that duty is to be performed *not only for wrath, but for conscience sake.* The rule seemes positive and infallible: that *whosoever resisteth the power, resisteth the ordinance of God, and they that resist shall receive to themselves damnation.* St. *Peter* was as highly concern'd in this point with the Iews, as St. *Paul* with the Gentiles, and therefore they are directed

Non propter iram sed propter conscientiam. Rom. 13. ἑαυτοῖς κρίμα λήψονται *Rom. 13. 2.*

and

and taught to *ſubmit themſelves to*
1 Pet. 2. 13. *every Ordinance of man for the Lords*
v. 17. *ſake, whether it be to King as ſupream,*
or unto Governours, as unto them
that are ſent by him: this command
is redoubled again by the ſame Apoſtle, *Fear God, honour the King*. So
then the duty of loyalty and allegiance to Princes is not only grounded on legal but evangelical principles, and hath not only Propherical but Apoſtolical foundations to warrant and ſupport this truth: and as the primitive and beſt Chriſtians, both in their active and paſſive obedience, gave teſtimony of this truth even to Heathen and Pagan Princes, and Emperours; ſo Chriſt, who is the way, the truth and the life, preached this doctrine and commanded to give unto *Ceſar*, what was *Ceſars*, & to God what was Gods. This day ſpring from an high probably did influence and enlighten *Huſhai* the *Archites* noble and loy-

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al Soul, who seasonably and successfully encountred the greatest danger, disappointed the deepest policy, and dissolved and dispersed the most unnatural Treason that the age had hatched or produced, wherein King *David* lived; and it is a just obligation that lyeth strictly on the resolution and affections of all subjects to the utmost of their reason and power, to imitate, if not exceed the great worth and virtue of this noble *Archite* in their duty and devoirs towards their Soveraign, who being a Christian Monarch of a lawful Royal line, for the succession of many hundred years, may expect and require most justly the most exact performance of loyalty and true Allegiance: and that not only because prescription, custom, reason, & laws, but sacred oaths, which are the highest bonds, and call God himself to witnesse, oblige and conjure the subjects to their fidelity and duty;

and

and this was performed punctually and compleatly by *Hushai* to King *David*, who being one of the sons of *Jesse*, was the first of his family who sate on the throne, and succeeded with as much conflict as honour, his unhappy predecessor *Saul*: yet this noble person, though the Monarchy was but a later foundation, & translated from the house of *Saul* to the house of *David*, yet he did neither boggle nor startle, & though *Absalon* by his flattery of reformation insnared and infatuated the popular multitudes, pretending justice when he traiterously invaded the person of the King, and the prerogatives of the Crown, yet none of these circumstances, nor, that the head-piece and politician *Achitophel*, was in the conspiracy, could deter *Hushai* from his duty, but that he would adventure his life, fortune and all that was dear to him in the Kings cause, and so just a necessity:

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he resolved that his courage, his wisdome and his fidelity could never be more serviceable, and therefore this loyal subject is more active and diligent to preserve King *Davids* rights, and to immortallize his own honour, in this unfortunate juncture of extremities: many thousands loyal subjects of his Majesties three Kingdomes, had *Husshais* resolutions and affections in the late barbarous and unnatural wars; some royalists by virtue of their Soveraignes commission raised troops of Horse and foot, fortyfied Townes and Castles, equipped ships, and using the utmost of their endeavours, hazarded their lives, relations and fortunes, and to render a full assurance of their loyalty to their Prince were not daunted with fire or sword, nor discouraged with imprisonment, banishment, or any degree of the most tormenting cruelties, nay death, in so just a cause

leading,

leading and laying them in a bed of honour; they feared neither the loss of limbs or lives in their service of their King and Country: and when (after many tedious years) their forces, subdued by excessive power, or betrayed by cunning Treachery, did fail, the Kings party cherished loyalty in their hearts, and though they were plundred unmercifully, sequestred and decimated illegally, and forced to slavish compositions, and harased with cruel asperities and ignominies, as bitter as death; yet assoon as their Hair, as *Sampsons*, did begin to spring, after so many sharp raisors and shavings, and their strength began to come to them, they were active in their designs and in their contrivances, ever attempting some noble enterprize, that might recover their King to his Throne, and themselves to the liberty and priviledge of free born subjects, some in their capacities

cities attended his Majestie, and the royal branches in their perigrination abroad: others as laborious Bees toiled and worked (if the day was fair and secure) in their several stations or circuits of their interests, in their own Countryes. And (upon occasion) saluting or tasting the inclination of every flour they met with, they make it their only business to convey the thyme and hony of true loyalty to the Royal Hive: some are very active in their purses, others turned the cock to the streams of other mens plenty, others in their prayers: some did use their most refined abilities, to distract the Counsels of the many headed monster the long (at last,) Rumping Parliament: some noble spirits (who dearly paid for their Testimony of Loyalty) designed the death of the grand Imposture and Usurper, *Cromwel*, whose Son like an *Ignis Fatuus* quickly vanished: some gave with

daring ingenuity, an occasion of great distraction in the Army, and rais'd jealousies, and distrust amongst the Officers and soldiers: some, for many years discreetly acted their parts and very prosperously, amongst the Aldermen, Common Council, and more Eminent stickling Citizens, who being easily perswaded, that Trade generally decayed, that their ships were taken dayly by the men of war at sea, and that a pinching Poverty was ready to seaze on them, armed themselves privately, and as some of the gallant Senators stoutly (on several occasions) told the Relicks of the long Parliament, the Committy of Safety, and Officers of the Army, that the Treasure of the City was exhausted, trade utterly lost, and many thousand families impoverished.

So neither could nor would they advance any monies any further, to maintain that disorderly and illegal rabble

rabble of *Janizaries* and Soldiers, who as they had a long time inter, ruoted the prosperity and commerce in the Citty, and over the whole land. So they now resolved to defend their Liberties, Rights and Properties, as carefully as their lives, and being threatned with terrour and menaces of Plundering, imprisonment, and other hostile and horrid injuries by fire and sword, they very gallantly replyed, that they would unanimously stand on their guards, to defend themselves, maugre all opposition, as they had prosperously in such cases of danger, when they suspected a tumultuary rising of the rabble in the reigns of King *Richard* the third, when he marched against *Henry* the seventh to the battaile at *Bosworth-field*: as they had in King *Henry* the eights reign when he went to *Bullen* in *France*; as they had equipaged themselves in Queen *Elizabeths* reign *An.*

Dom. 1588. And according to ſeveral preſidents of this kind; for which ſervices the City received ſolemn thanks from the Crown, for their great care of themſelves and the Royal City, as it appears in their City records and tranſactions of their political affaires: they then thus provoked, thus diſpoſed, quickly reſolved to hold faſt their purſes, though they could neither their tongues nor their hands; monyes (the nerves of the monſtruous body, ſuddenly ſhrinking,) the Officers of the Army fell into diſtraction, and the private ſouldiers wanting pay, quickly began to raile and revile, to kick and to cut, and to ſcorne & caſhiere their Officers, & in a few dayes both became as odious as ridiculous, to the generality of the people of the three Kingdomes, who reſolving to ſhake of their Iron yoke of vaſſalage, comforted themſelves in their hopefull poſſibilities. And as lines

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running moſt naturally to the center, began to fix their thoughts and hopes in their Soveraignes Reſtauration. The hearts of men waxing warm with theſe deſires, and poſſibilities, they began to talk freely and plainly that neither City nor Country could be happy until the King ſhould be reſtored, that the whole Land was in a ſad confuſion and horrid diſtreſs; and the City and Common Councel diſcerning a happy conjunction of affection and aſſiſtance from all parts, ſent ſtout anſwers (on ſeveral occaſions) to the tedious long Parliament, to the Officers of the Army, to *Fleetwood*, and his *Walling fordians* at the Committee of ſafety; that the City was for want of Trade and through the loſſe of many hundred ſhips ſo impoveriſhed, and reduced to ſuch extremities, that they neither could nor would advance any further ſummes of monyes. Theſe unex-

pected Reſolutions and aſſurances, cauſed the Enemies of Monarchy Firſt, to ſhiver and ſplinter into diſtraction, and then to fall into deſpaire, and each Brother growing jealous of his Fellow Traitor, guilt of horrid Crimes: in ſecuring theſt condition, the better to avoide popular fury, they think of addreſſes to the clemency of their Prince, which in ſuch high offences, is ever the happieſt refuge and *Aſylum*, whiles the ſimptomes of the new modeld Anarchy thus fully appeare. And the frame of the monſtrous and tottering Government was thus ſhaken: many noble *Huſbaies*, and true Royalliſts, took faſt hold on theſe encouraging opportunities, and moſt ſucceſsfully, proved moſt wiſe conducters of Affairs, mightily tending to the Reſtauration of the King, and with his Majeſty; the recovery of our Religion, liberties and laws, which without his preſence and pro-

The Duke of *Albemarle*, the Earl of *Bath*,

The Lord Biſhop of *Hereford*.

protection seemed much like to a consumptive dying patient, ready at the last gasp to give up the Ghost.

But whiles these unspotted Royallists for almost twenty years continuance in a confused Government, and the outrages of a Civil war, were constantly Active or Passive in their duty for the Crown. Another party (either conscious of their errour, or convinced in their judgement, or at least concerned in their respective interest,) shewed themselves like brothers of the half bloud, to have a deep resentment of the great injuries, perpetrated against an imperial Crown, and to own their fellow subjects for Auxiliaries and Coadjutors in the publick concernment of their King and Country, which like a violent torrent, or overflowing inundation, carrying all before it, circled the Presbyterians in the same interest: and as Iews, Turks, Pagans, and Christians, in

a ſtorm or tempeſt at Sea, exerciſe their wits, pour out their prayers, imploy their hands to ſave the ſhip, that after the ſtorm, all Paſſengers may arrive ſafe on ſhoar: (for ſo did *Jonah* with the *Mariners*, and St. *Paul* with the *Souldiers*.) So all parties of the three Kingdomes, ſeeing the Royal Soveraign ſailing with ſo proſperous a Gale, and that the providence of Heaven had ſo ordered, that the King inevitably ſhould be reſtored, they put on the loyal dreſs, and if not to ſerve their King, yet to preſerve themſelves, appear on the ſuddain courtly converts and perfect royaliſts, and as every good ſubject is obliged to rejoice at the Kings reſtauration to the Crown, ſo is he to congratulate the converſion of his Enemies to thoſe principles which cannot but confirm and juſtifie his reſolutions to loyalty for ever.

Jonah 1. 2. *Act.* 27. 17.

But this latter or ſecond ſort of con-

converted subjects come somwhat short of the excellency and worth of those nobler minds, which were never stayned with Apostacy or defection from the crown, and they are more deeply obliged to duty and fidelity, to loyalty and gratitude to their Prince, because they are not only secured by his clemencie and pardon, but likewise have liberally tasted of his bounty and favours, and though the royal party, like the poor *Israelites* in *Ægypt* endured much bondage, and yoaks, hard task-masters, trod clay, and made brick; and in the savage wildernesse of horrid confusion, were pinched with cold and nakednesse, and had there souls filled with scorn and reproach: yet they are not envious at their reconciled Brethrens happinesse, nor troubled that they have portions and dividents in the land of *Canaan*, and share with them in the blessings of his Majesties restau-

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ration, ſubmiſſively recommending all ſuch comfortable poſſibilities to the providence of God, and to the goodneſs, bounty, wiſdome and juſtice of their Prince; who cannot but out of ſo many ſad afflictions gain much knowledge, and by ſuch an univerſal experience of the humours and tempers of his ſubjects, diſcern more clearly, whom to employ or truſt, and whom to promote, paſſe by, or puniſh: all this while, theres no pretence for excuſe, much leſs of merit, in reconciled and converted Enemies. Firſt, for excuſe or apologies, the moſt innocent can hardly plead any thing above a ſimplicity of their hearts, as thoſe ſilly ſheep who hearkned too much to *Abſolons* flattery: and though liberty of conſcience, a through Reformation of Religion, and the laws, the hopes of more clear Goſpel truths, and a more exact and perfect way to Heaven, and

many

many such canting, cunning, and jugling pretences, were, as more pleasant baits whispered in the ear, swelled from the Press, and thundred cheatingly from the Pulpits: yet the the late Royal Martyr in his prophetical spirit and golden pen, found out the malice, treason, fraud & malignity of those intoxicating and venemous delusions, advising his dear Son the Prince, with his own observation, g that the Devil of Rebellion doth commonly turn himself into an Angel of Reformation, & the old Serpent can pretend new lights: when some mens consciences accuse them for sedition and faction, they stop its mouth with the name and noise of Religion, when Piety pleads for Peace and Patience, they cry out zeal; so the worst of men, lurk under the pretensions of Reformation of Religion, and auspicious beginnings have often the worst designs. In the judgement

g Kings book Βασιλικὸν δῶρον pag. 235.

and

and Counsel then of this sacred Orator, there can be no excuse for traiterous errors and such disloyal deviations. King *Iames* of ever blessed memory, gave the like advice to Prince *Henry* his Son, commanding him as a Father and a King. Take heed therefore my Son to such Puritans, very pests in the Church and Common-weale, whom no deserts can oblige, neither oathes nor promises binde, breathing nothing but sedition and calumnies, aspiring without measure, railing without reason, and making their own imaginations (without any warrant of the word) the square of their consciences: from these words the King raiseth his resentment of injured Majestie, saying, I protest before the great God, and since I am here upon my testament, it is no place for me to ly in, that ye shall never find with any highland or border Thieves, greater ingratitude, and more lyes

K. Iames in the duty of a King p. 9.

and

and vile perjuries then with these Phanatick spirits; and suffer not the principles of them to brook your land, if you like to sit at rest. These two royal Princes had much judgement and wisdome, great learning and experience. The one tels the world that these virulent Phanaticks did persecute him before he was born, being not at rest in his Royal mothers womb, and the other having suffered many injuries in his life, was sooner hurryed to an ignoble and untimely death. As to excuses and apologies, it was the ancient satanical devise, which having first ruined *Adam* and *Eve*, deluded them to extenuate their infidelity, disobedience and crime, with a second kind of errour, pleading even before God himself, as *Adam*, h It was not *I* but the *Woman*, and so *Eve*, it was not *I* but the *Serpent*; but an ingenuous confession is the best and surest remedy in the case of delinquency

h Gen. 3. 12. 13. *Vnde tibi hoc accidit? quis te in tantam indux it altercationem* S. Chrys. *in Genes.*

linquency, and Repentance proves the best cordial in such a fowl and loathsome dangerous disease: it is not then a way to impunity or pardon to plead, I was misguided or mistaken, transported with zeal, or catched by the ears by the insinuation of deluding Hypocrites: these and such thin fig-leaves, are not competent or comly veiles to cover or excuse sins of such a scarlet complexion, nor jealousies and fears, which have blown up some, into tumultuous and rebellious resolutions, an ingenious acknowledgment of crimes and errous committed, with the promise and practise of loyalty and true obedience, is a more exact and ready path to safety and satisfaction: and as for apologies and excuses, none may (in the least degree pretend to them,) who have been such lavish prodigals of the King and Kingdomes bloud and Treasure, and as there is no place

for

for apologies or excuses, so much less for merit or deserts, for though many did grow weary of usurpation, Tyranny and injuries towards their King and the loyal party, or rather (disappointed of those ends of power and command, which they phancied and proposed to themselves,) began to totter, and turn from those possibilities towhich they had leaned so long, yet byassed by a different faction and Interest, they reflect on the Crown, with a loyal aspect, and in this second choice engage their persons and party, and run many dangers and hazards of life and fortune to make themselves considerable, and this service or alteration, (though from a discontented party, or reconciled enemy) in policy, was not to be refused or unacceptable, for though it might not much strengthen the King, yet in some proportion, it did debilitate and weaken the enemy, and it might be

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probably hoped, that as ſome branches had fallen from the Rebellious body; others might follow their example, or at leaſt learn from them, that an Army or party, like a houſe or Kingdome divided within it ſelf, hath no long duration and cannot ſtand, this declenſion from evil principles, as it was an external teſtimony of repentance and grace, ſo it muſt be acknowledged to be good ſervice, and a fair *præludium* to future good effects: but duty and endeavour of this Nature may rather and more fitly be reputed expiations for former crimes, then pretenſions to reward and merit, which ever (as the acute School men teſtify) i implyeth and importeth an equality of juſtice and right: and juſtice doth not beg but boldly plead for deſert and merit, and to have and receive its rights, not out of bounty or favour, but as its due and debt: a ſoveraign Throne cannot endure ſuch petu-

i *Meritum importat æqualitatem juſtitiæ Aquin. 3. quæſt. 19.*

petulant and bold pleaders. This temper were rather tolerable in equals, (and Kings know none) then inferiours, and might better suite with commanders, (and soveraign Kings acknowledge none but God,) then with those who have been offenders: and in the highest priviledges ought to attend as humble petitioners. So then, though the service be never so infinite, yet rising from the art and power of those who have so deeply offended: there can be no pretences to merit, which in a second review, is not to be granted, or admitted without a lessoning & diminution to the prerogatives of soveraignty which is so absolute, that it cannot endure any intimation of command. Now merit (as the Schools teach) is an action whereby, it is not only right but necessary, that reward and recompence be payed as a debt, to

Rex a Deo primus nulli secundus.

k *Meritum est actio qua justum est ut agenti aliquid detur. Aquin. 3. 49. c. 6.*

him who hath acted: now when the Actions and prevaricatations of those who have so highy injured, and deeply wounded soveraignty, and disturbed the peace and prosperity of three Kingdomes, are ballanced and put into the Scales with their good works of loyalty, (though never so weighty) they will be found utterly too light for reward or merit, and rather justly prove objects of their Princes grace and clemency: and in case their soveraign, like *Ahasuerus*, have inclined his royal Scepter towards them, and thereby testified his bounty and goodnesse, and so capacitated them with royal favour, trust and honour, these obligations as they magnifie the virtue of the Prince, so they are as so many stronger chains, to bind those who are obliged by them, to greater perfection of loyalty, and more exact and vigilant performances of their duty, or else those favours

vours will prove as ſo many witneſſes to evidence againſt them, and to accuſe them of odious and monſtruous ingratitude. And as to the *medium* or modification of the School diſtinction of condignity or is not to be admitted in this caſe for that of condignity or adequate merit is abſolutely taken away, and that of congruity, or rather conveniency is totally and intirely to be recommended to the Princes Will, Grace, Wiſdome and Iudgement, who as he pleaſeth, may promote or puniſh as well as pardon, by act of indemnity or amneſty, as to royal pleaſure, ſhall ſeem expedient. Apologies and excuſes in delinquents thus exploded, and all pretences to merit in thoſe who have legally forfeited their lives, liberties and eſtates, by the laws of the land, utterly abrogated, what refuge can ſuch offenders fly and addreſs to, as cordials to preſerve their honour, or their conſci-

Meritum congrui & condigni Aquin. l. 2. q. 114. c. 6.

cnees, perhaps ſome may plead, their promiſe, their vow, their proteſtation their engagement, or the covenant, or their abjuration: theſe were, (if righty judged & exammined,) cunning, ſubtile, and ſinful deſigns in the projectors and contrivers, who framed them, were Trumpets of Rebellion: Sedition and faction: ſounded and blown up by thoſe who promoted them, and proved as ſnares to their Souls, who either weakly ſubmitted, or with temporizing appetites did greedily ſwallow them, and theſe cobweb lines (ſpun out of the body & womb of a venimous ſpider,) are not ſtrong enough to hold a ſubjects hand or heart from his duty of faith & allegiance towards his Soveraign; and each one of theſe feeble and ſubſequent obligations being ſifted by truth and reaſon, as well as laws and juſtice will crumble to nothing, before the oathes of allegiance and ſupremacy,

and

and the light of that duty, that by municipal decrees, by the laws of nature, & birth-right, every subject oweth to his Prince, being born under his prerogative and power, & in any of his Kingdomes or Dominions.

First as to promises [l] (which are the suddain, and usually most transient verbal obligations, and ought to be effected of all persons of understanding, Religion and Honour) they ought ever to be acts of sound reason and judgement, raised on good foundations, and duly considered, before they come to be published and proclaimed by the tongue or signed by the hand, and even the strictest promises or paroles, do not oblige the Faith or Honour of him that [m] promiseth, if what be promised be *illicit*, or unlawful, or if the conditions of Persons or affairs be changed and altered. These essentials rightly considered, what ever promises have been made by

l *Promissio est actus iationis, quia est enuntiatio & ordinatio alicujus. T. Aquin. 22. quæ. 88. a. 1.*

m *Promissa non debent servari, si est illicitum quod promittitur: vel si sint mutata conditionis personarum, vel negotiorum. Ad hoc ergo quod homo debeat servare quod promiserat oportet ut sit licitum quod promittitur, & quod omnia immutata permaneant Aquin. 22 a. quæst. 110. a. 35.*

ſubjects againſt the ſoveraignty of their Princes liberties, of their Country & laws of the land, do fall to the Ground, & diſſolve of themſelves, becauſe of their *illicit* & ununlawful foundation, And as to the mutation of perſons or affaires, ſubjects are not to make new promiſes of combination or conſpiracy, againſt the true old principles of faith, and true allegiance to their Kings, for whether they ſit glorioufly and puiſſantly on their thrones, or by any black misfortune, are reduced to a low degree, their character is indelible, and being Gods vice-gerent: in all conditions, their ſubjects owe them reverence and true allegiance. The firſt ſcruple thus eaſily blown over, the ſecond may prove of leſſer difficulty: ſome more zealous then judicious, proceed further, and plead they have not only promiſed, but vowed; now a vow ſeems to be a cord of ſtronger twiſting, the rather

ther because an act of more serious consultation, and of more sacred restriction: [n] promises, are commonly made to men, but [o] Vowes seem to mount a step higher, and being offered to the Deity, are observed with a more divine and dreadfull attestation of God; and to violate vowes is much more dangerous, the votaries may plead, but in this point it will appear, that an unlawfnl vow is as easily and justly to be broken, as a rash and undiscreet or disloyal promise, the rather because a vow properly is an [p] act of religious worship. It is a promise to God of the intention & resolution to some better good, because it is a solemn testification of a deliberated voluntary promise made and offered unto God, to perfect and compleat which, are alwaies required mature deliberation,

n *Votum à voluntate dictum quasi deliberatione & propositio profectum Buca. instit Theo. l. 45.*

o ὅτι ὁ ὑποσχόμεβάρινος τινι, ἑαυτόν ἐτέθη: *sic Eustath.*

p *Votum est actus latriæ & Religionis Tho. Aqui. 22æ q 88. a 5. Votum promissio Deo facta de meliori bono. idem, Votum testificatio quadam promissionis spontanea quæ debet fieri Deo, de iis quæ Dei sunt. Aqui. 22æ. quest. 88. Ad Votum tria requirunt, deliberatio, Propositum, & promissio. idem.*

a reſolute purpoſe and a certain or conſtant promiſe. Now theſe circumſtances and requiſites are ſuch, as the votary need not err, unleſs he will be affectely ignorant, or raſhly and willfully ſinful. Now for a ſubject to vow to that which is unlawful, to ſigne to that which is ſinful, to offer ſuch a ſacrifice to God, which is odious and unacceptable, is an aggravation of the crime: and therefore not to be kept, but to be broken off, with more bitter repenrance and more zealous deteſta tion ¶ And if every petty ſin be offenſive before the eternal God, how abominable muſt thoſe ſins appear, which like ſcarlet and crimſon are of a double dye, aggravated with ſollemn vows and promiſſes, and yet ſo much the more ſinful becauſe attempted and perpetrated, by thoſe, who in the caſe of loyalty, as ſubjects, cannot be abſolved from their oaths of allegiance to their King,

¶ Ἄθεμιτος ον *Votum temerarium & illegitimum; quod de rebus illicitis; malo fine & perſonis etiam non ui juris ſuscipitur Bucan. The. Inſtit. l. 45. queſt. 14.*

King: and so not being *sui juris*, at liberty, have no power to make *illicit*, vows of this kind, and are not to give so much as consent to their illegallity. The subjects in this case of allegiance being as strictly restrained, and durifully obliged to their Prince in his power and pleasure, and the justnesse of the laws, as children under the power of their Parents, as a Wife during the life of her Husband, as servants are obliged to their Masters until they are at liberty r: If a vow (though lawful) were by Gods word thus stated in the power of the Parent, the Husband, the Master, *a minore ad majus*: much more are *illicit* vows to be abrogated and broken, in subjects vowing, not only against their Princes consent, but against the houour and safety of their sacred persons, and their royal Crown and dignity, by these arguments, it plainly appears that neither rash and unvised

r Num 30. 4. 5. 7. *Votum anima vinculum. Vota eorum infringi poterant.*

advised promises, nor serious sinful and deliberated vows are to be kept or observed no more then that *Anathema*, under which some desperate zealous bloudy Iews bound themselves neither to eat, nor drink, till they had slain St. *Paul.* ſ

ſ Act. 23. 12. 14. *Stulto zelo correpti mentiri & occidere quidvis denique tibi licere arbitrabantur* T. *Beza in loc.*

There is a third bond or obligation, that some tender curiosities lay hold on, and that is the protestation, which (though never formed nor forced into the nature of a municipal and binding law) yet was cunningly devised by some state politicians, and sent and dispersed over the Kingdomes, to taste the inclinations of the people, or at least as *Shiboleth*, to distinguish who were really and truly Royalists, and who were not, which form of obliging a party (very probably) took its example from *Germany*, where the *Lutherans* solemnly protested against some doctrinal and practical, proceeding of the Church of *Rome*,

The 3. protestation.

And

And from this root sprang the distraction that those reformed Christians, who deserted the communion of the Roman Church, were commonly called Protestants: but the protestation of a later and parliamentary conception and birth, was not so much to distinguish Christians of several Churches, as to discern persons how they stood affected to the King, or to his great Councel, whether they would as loyal subjects adhere to the Soveraignty of their Prince, or (in case his Majesty dissented from his two houses) whether they would adventure all, and to live and dye with a Parliamentary party of their fellow subjects, and be subservient to their ends and interests, this protestation was an early cunning bait, and like *Manna* it pleased most pallats, because it contained in it a variety of lawful good things, and what could be more acceptable to a true

Son

Son of the Church of *England*, then to defend her doctrine? what duty more agreeable to a ſubject then to defend the prerogatives of his Soveraigns crown, and what endeavour more honourable then to preſerve the priviledges of Parliament, and the laws of the land? Theſe four diſhes ſeaſonably ſerved might reliſh well, and find a good digeſtion being duties in themſelves, rightly underſtood, fit for a good reſolution in any ſubject, who honoured his King, loved his Country, or had a care of his ſoul, yet the branches of that proteſtation, did ſpread into ſo great a latitude, in reſpect of the variety of the definitive points of the doctrine of the Church, the unlimitted prerogatives of the Crown, undetermined priviledges of Parliament, and the difficulty of underſtanding the multitude, and body of the learned laws, that after the proteſtation was licked into

to

to a form, & as a golden pill quickly ſwallowed by about t weny members of the Commons Houſe. The pill being taſted by a more judicious pallate, was disreliſhed, and had ſtopt there, if theſe words, *viz.* (as far as lawfully I may) had not as a more ſafe ingredient been added to it, & there (as if a warrantable diſpenſation had been given to every mans conſcience, ſenſe and reaſon,) it was clearly ſwallowed without chawing, or the leaſt diſpute.

The proteſtation, then was (at moſt) but a conditional aſſeveration, ſtuffed with great variety of dificulties and obſcurityes. And though the doctrine of the Church of *England*, the Kings prerogative and the laws of the land had elbow-room in thoſe few lines, yet the priviledges of that Parliament, which in time, deſtroyed the King, the Church and the laws, (under a ſpecious name,) deluded the bewitched people into a horrid rebellion which

cauſed

cauſed great miſery & devaſtation to three flouriſhing Kingdomes, & now when thoſe, who took the proteſtation, have conſidered of the contrivances, intrigues, & intereſts of that cunning trap and popular bait, they ought to retreat from the danger of thoſe ſnares: & now having recovered their ſenſe and reaſon by repentance and a better conſultation, may better know how to perform their duty to God in his Church, and to their King and Country.

The mask of the proteſtation thus pul'd off, and the curtaines drawn, the face of loyalty is more clear and viſible: yet there is another brood, and ſort of perſons, who cry out of their peirced and wounded conſciences, and tell the world they have with hearts and hands lifted up to heaven, taken the national and general covenant, and they cannot quit fairly with this delight and darling of their ſoules. This, as *Dia-*

na

as from *Iupiter* (they urge) fell from Heaven, and though the Covenant was the contrivance of a few confederated ſeditious heads, yet the covenanters hold themſelves obliged to keep it as ſtrictly, as if it had been the breath, motion and dictates of the ſacred ſpirit of God, and many ſuppoſe that having lifted up their hands in a pious deluſion, they cannot nor muſt not let them fall in a repentant and humble ſubmiſſion to their Soveraign, and the laws of their Country: but ſuch infatuated Zelots are much deceived, and ought to ſee more clearly, the ſcales of their deluſion being taken from their eyes, but if an irrational ſturdy obſtinacy ſtill poſſeſs their reſolutions, willfulneſſe, blind's reaſon, and obduration cauterize their conſciences: their beſt cure may be procured by adviſing with the incomparable reaſons of the Univerſity of *Oxford* againſt the covenant

venant: & if those reasons, prove not a welcome soveraign cordial, let such passionate Zelots apply themselves to their Princes remedy, and *Probatum*, or for ever hold themselves in their Honour, Souls and Consciences to be incurable. And the late blessed Royal Martyr doth most pathetically and powerfully advise and argue. The enjoynings of Oathes upon people must needs, in things doubtfull, be dangerous, as in things unlawfull, damnable, & no lesse superfluous, where former religious & legall Engagements bound men sufficiently to all necessary duties: nor can I see how they will reconcile such an innovating Oath and Covenant, with that former protestation, which was so lately taken to maintain the Religion established in the Church of *England*, since they count discipline so great a part of Religion. And in the the next page the King saith (in the

Εἰκὼν βασιλικὴ chap. 14. of the covenant pag. 110.

the candor and kindneſs of his ſpirit) I am prone to believe and hope that many who take the covenant, are yet firm to this judgement, that ſuch later vows, oathes or leagues can never blot out thoſe former gravings and characters, which by juſt and lawful Oathes were made upon their Souls. And again, the bleſſed King urgeth the third time, that which makes ſuch confederations by way of Solemn Leagues and covenants, more to be ſuſpected, is, that they are the common road in all factions and powerful perturbations of State or Church, where formalities of extraordinary zeal and piety, are ever more ſtudied and elaborate, then, when Politicians moſt agitate deſperate deſigns, againſt all that is ſetled or Sacred in Religion and Laws; which by ſuch ſervice, are cunningly yet forcibly wreſted by ſecret ſteps, and leſs ſenſible degrees, from their known

rule and wonted practiſe to comply with the humour of thoſe men, who aime to ſubdue all to their own will and power, under the diſguiſes of holy combinations. Theſe were the counſels and command of a dying King, who ſealed theſe truths with his royal bloud, and they may ſerve as cautions or preventive phyſick, not to be refuſed; as cordials, to comfort languiſhing and fainting ſpirits, as ſoveraign remedyes, to recover relapſed patients, to a ſound and heathful diſpoſition of both Soul and body, and they are not to be neglected or deſpiſed by any rational ſubjects, but who doom themſelves to diſcontent, or willfully are dementated to a ſelf perdition.

3. Engagement.

When the proteſtation and the covenant, like old and uſeleſs Almanacks were laid aſide, a ſucceſſive jugling, prevailing party found out vicious matter, to compoſe new

bird

bird-lime, and ſhuffling the cards, and then cutting and dealing cuningly, deviſed by an *Engagement* to catch ſome credulous and timorous complying inclinations, or at leaſt, utterly to pack the *Presbyterian* out of the ſtock of power and intereſt. This obortive *Embrio* and *Precocious* birth was quickly tumbled out of the body of the bear, and by ſome ſmooth bloudy tongues licked into a form, or rather confuſion of words; which reduced to neither mood or figure, were ſo illogical, that the *Engagement* was looked on as a factious ſeditious ſnare, and not ſtrong enough to hold the foot of the lighteſt *Larke*. The weakeſt perſon that complyed to be entangled in it, as to the form (if any) it was a ſubſcribed promiſe, before an illegal Magiſtrate. And as to the matter, it was a fancy or dream like that of *Vtopia*, of a common-wealth which was no where in *England*, unleſs

leſs in ſome mens brains, who were ſick of ambition, and pride, and long'd for Government. This republick they ſtiled, ſetled, when the world ſaw the three Kingdomes in diſorder and confuſion, and the Authours and Abettors of this Ridiculous monſter, panting, quaking, and ſculking under continual ſuſpitions, and the pinching torments of fears and jealouſies: but that which occaſioned greateſt ſcorn and laughter of this ſeditious bug-bear, was, that it was covetouſly contrived, to be a vendible commodity, and ſo eaſily gain'd from the juſtice of Peace or his Clark, for half a Crown; and in a ſhort time it prov'd a more common contemptible drug, and was familiarly bought for twelve pence, until at laſt, it was not valuable. On which deviſe, all judicious and ſober Perſons did look as a ſtate cheat, or a meer moral promiſe to things imaginary, irrational and im-

impoſſible under the preſſure of tyrannical uſurpers, and in it ſelf no way legal or binding, being like tow in an inſtant ſet on fire by ſome ſulphurous ſparks, and flaming for a moment, dyed and was ſuddenly extinguiſhed.

A fourth, but more black, traiterous and odious obligation and oath, was that of the abjuration, which moſt horridly did conjure the perjured ſwearers, to renounce their lawful King, and his royal line, and the ſucceſſors of that imperial and renowned family.

Vſus jurandi ducit hominem ad perjurium. D. Ber. ſer. 32. de perjurio.

And this potion though dangerous and damnable like viper wine, went pleaſantly down with two many, who if not ſoundly purged with true repentance, may feel the acerbity of this venemous compoſition attended with pangs and torments, in their gauled conſciences for ever. This was a treaſon of the higheſt degree, a ſin of a great mag-

Sicut mentiri non poteſt qui non loquitur, ſic pejerare non poterit qui jurare non appetit. D. Bernard ſer. 32. de perjurio.

nitude, a daring crime, aiming prodigiouſly to deſtroy the roots, and branches of the royal ſtemm: and though it was hatcht and contriv'd by a cunning hypocritical Crocodile and his bloudy Sycophants; yet as if Heaven and Earth, God and man did abhor ſuch an odious oath and combination, how ſuddenly did it pleaſe God, that his arme of providence ſhould appear and incline the hearts, not only of his loyal ſubjects but even of thoſe who had been bitter Enemies to the royal throne, to endeavour and cooperate for his Majeſties reſtauration. And now all theſe Withes and new Cords being broken by a *Samſonian* ſtrength and influence from true Soveraignty, are untwiſted and unravel'd to an *odium* and a ſcorn. And the Parliament hath judiciouſly and nobly determined and damn'd the covenant, the Engagement and the oath of Abjuration to be illegal, factious and

Cromwel.

and ſeditious papers, and all rational ſubjects may ſecurely acquieſs in their judgement and determination. u

If this *Collyrium* clear not the eyes of all Proteſters, Covenanters, Engagers and abjurators, nor all theſe reaſons reduce the phanatically deluded to their fidelity and allegiance to their King: let them beware leaſt the judgement, as well as the ſins of deteſtable perjury follow, or fall upon them. This is a horrid crime, which the Schoolmen lay open to the world in this dreſs, that x perjury is a ly confirm'd and ratified by an oath, and this is a moſt fearful aggravation. And it is St. *Hieroms* reſolution y that no oath is lawful, unleſs it be attended, with three indiſpenſable concomitants. *viz.* Truth, Judgement and Righteouſneſſe, and where all or any of theſe three faile, an oath is perjury, St. *Auſtin* is more ſtrict,

u *Malum quod juramus facere, non debemus implere D. Ber. de per. mr. ſer.* 32.

x *Perjurium eſt mendacium juramento firmatum. Aurey. Theſ. Eccleſ. lib.* 4. *diſt.* 39.

y *Ius jurandum tres habet comites veritatem judicium & juſtitiam. Hieron. ſuper Hieremi* 22. *q.* 2.

claring plainly [z] that he is perjured, that ſweareth voluntarily, what he knoweth to be falſe, with a deceitful deſign, or if he perfectly know it not, thinketh it to be falſe. The Fathers make an out-cry, and declaim ſeverely againſt this crime, and call it *Bellua deteſtanda*, a moſt deteſtable beaſt, and filthy ſin. The ſchoolmen ſeem yet more ſevere then the Fathers [a] & *Aquinas* determins that he who ſweareth the truth which he thinketh to be falſe, or ſwearing that which is falſe thinketh it to be truth, is a perjured perſon. Where the ſin is ſo notorious, the infamy and obloquies ſo odious, and the judgements of the Eternal revenger, ſo terrible and dangerous againſt perjured perſons; how careful ſhould ſubjects be to recover themſelves to the duty of loyalty, and thereby to repair their credit and to vindicate themſelves from eternal plagues and infamy.

[z] *Cum ſit vel putat falſum eſſe & tamen pro vero jurat D. Aug. de ver. Apoſt. ſer. 28.*

[a] *Jurans verum, quod putat eſſe falſum, vel jurans falſum quod putat eſſe verum, eſt perjurus T. Aquin. 22. q. 98, 1. 3.*

The

The clouds thus diſperſed by the beams of truth, and rational arguments. It is moſt evident that thoſe ſubjects who ſtarted from their allegiance & loyalty, can neither plead excuſe or merit, for their tergiverſation & Apoſtacy, & as to any unlawful oaths wherewith their ſoules were inſnared or intangled, they are by the ſupream laws of God & the laws of men diſcharghed & abſolved from them, unleſs hardned with obſtinacy, they will as 'tis in the Greek proverb [b] ad ſin unto ſin, force one nail with driving another, and to perjury adde wilful impenitency, but better things may be hoped from all ſubjects, who as men look on themſelves, as born for rational ſociety or as Chriſtians profeſſing the truths of ſacred religion, and not longer adhering to ſelf opinion, or ſeditious faction, be perfectly converted to be true cordial royaliſts: remembring the caution and counſel the late

b ἥλον ἥλῳ κὶ τὸ κακὸν κακῷ. i. e. *malum malo meditatur ſophocles & Æneas Platonicus.*

late royal c Martyr gave, not to pretend a reformation, and to force a rebellion, nor to hearken or give credit to thoſe paraſitick preachers who dared to call thoſe Martyrs, who dyed fighting againſt their King the laws, their oathes and the religion eſtabliſhed. But ſober Chriſtians know that glorious title of Martyrs can with truth be applied to thoſe, who ſincerely preferred Gods truth and their duty in all particulars before their lives, and all that was dear to them in this world, who where religiouſly ſenſible of thoſe tyes to God, the Church and the King, which lay on their ſouls, both for obedience and juſt aſſiſtance. By this time apoſtatiz'd and deluded ſubjects (their eyes being as well opened with ſad experience, as bright beames of reaſon and truth) may cleerly ſee their errours and more ſecurely avoid their dangers. But leaſt as thoſe who behold their faces

c Εἰκὼν βασιλικὴ cont. 19. pag. 174.

faces in a glaſs, they may upon a removal utterly forget their ſeatures or complexions. It may not prove improper to ſet before us thoſe pure Chriſtals of Piety, Wiſdome, Religion, Honour and Government, which the cuſtomes and laws of former ages have conveyed to this preſent generation, engaging both the King and people to their reſpective dutyes, whereby the ſoveraign and all his ſubjects are comprehended under fundamental obligations. d This difference and diſtinction only admitted that glorious Princes of the imperial Crown of *England*, have in their royal grace, and voluntary condeſcention accuſtomed themſelves to ſolemn oathes at their coronation: but the Kings ſubjects are obliged by oaths ſetled, formed and confirmed by laws to exhibit and perform their homage, Fealty, allegiance and Fidelity to their Kings as Gods annointed

d *Fidelis ſermo retinet locum ſacramenti Iuramento non egit veritas D. Ber. Serm.* 32.

nointed, and in theſe high priviledges and prerogatives, the Kings of *England* ſeem to have a more legal tye and ſoveraignty, over their ſubjects, then either the Crown of *France* or *Spain*, whoſe ſubjects are commanded in greater vaſſalage, and as brighter and leading ſtars, that ſacred oathes & obligations are here preſented, which pious Kings and Queens have accuſtomed to take at their coronation, when they ſealed to their ſacred vows, in the communion and ſacrament of the body and bloud of Chriſt; and then as better fitted, have laid their hands on the bleſſed Evangeliſts, bowing their heads have kiſſed the book, (the beſt eternal evidence of the affection of the heart) and thus prepared, they have uſually received the Imperial Crown and Scepter; with other *Regalia* and Emblems of royal Majeſtie from Gods altar, as holding all their power and ſove-

raignty

raignty from the King of Kings, and Lord of Lords, that God, Angels, and Men, Heaven and Earth, and the whole world, and all ages to come, may behold the pious integrity of Sacred Princes.

The Kings Oath at his Coronation

L. Biſhop of London.

SIR, will you grant and keep, and by your Oath confirm to the people of *England*, the Laws and Cuſtomes to them granted by the Kings of *England*, your lawful and religious predeceſſors; and namely the Laws, Cuſtomes & Franchiſes granted to the Clergy, by

by the glorious KING St. *Edward* your predeceſſour, according to the Laws of God, the true profeſſion of the Goſpel eſtabliſhed in this Kingdome, and agreeing to the prerogative of the Kings thereof, and the ancient cuſtomes of this Realm.

The King. *I grant and promiſe to keep them.*

Lord Biſhop. Sir, will you keep peace and Godly agreement entirely according to your power both to God, the holy Church, the Clergy and the people.

King,

King. *I will keep it.*

L. Bishop. Sir, will you to your power cause law and justice and discretion in mercy and truth to be executed, in all your judgements.

King. *I will.*

L. Bishop. Sir, will you grant to hold and keep the rightful Customes which the commonalty of this your Kingdome have? will you defend and uphold them to the honour of God so much as in you lyeth?

King. *I grant and promise so to do.* The

The Petition of the L. Bishops read by the L. Bishop of ROCHESTER.

O Lord our King, we beseech you to grant and preserve unto us, and the Churches committed to our charge, all Canonical priviledges, and due Law and Iustice; and that you would protect and defend us, as every good King in his Kingdome ought to be a Protector and defender of the Bishops, and Churches under their Government,

The King answered? *With a willing and devout heart, I promise and grant my pardon, and that I will preserve and maintain to you and the Churches committed to your charge, all Canonical priviledges and due law and justice, and that I will be your Protector and Defendor to my power, by the assistance of God, as every good King*

King in his Kingdome, ought in right protect and defend the Bishops and Churches under their Government.

Then the King went to the Altar where laying his hand upon the Evangelists, he took the Oath following.

The things which I have here before promised, I shall perform & keep, so God me help, and by the contents of this Book, and so kissed the Book.

The Homage of the Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*, for himself and all the Bishops, (he kneeling down, and all the Bishops behind him) said,

I William *Arch-Bishop of* Canterbury, *shall be faithful & true, & Faith & Truth shall bear unto you our Soveraign Lord, and your Heirs, Kings of* England, *and I shall do and truly acknowledge the service of the Lands which I claim to hold of you, as in right of the Church, So God me help.*

Then he arose and kissed the King's left cheek, as did the rest of the Bishops.

The Homage of the Nobility.

I James *Duke of* York *become your Ligeman of life and limb, and of earthly worship, and Faith and Truth I shall bear unto you, to live and*

and dye against all manner of folk, So God me help.

The Oath of a Lord *Chancelour.*

YOu shall swear that well and truly you shall serve our Soveraign Lord the King, and his people in the office of Chancelour: and you shall do right to all manner of people, poor and rich, after the laws and usages of this Realm, and truly you shall counsel the King, and his Counsel: you shall layne and keep, and you shall not know nor suffer the hurt or disheriting of the King, or that the rights of the Crown be decca(ed by any means as far forth as you may let it: and if you may not let it, you shall make it cleerly and expresly to be known unto the King, with your true advice and councel, and that you shall do and purchase the Kings profit in all that you reasonably may. As God you help, and by the contents of this book.

The Oath of a privy Counceller.

YOu shall swear to be a true and faithful servant unto the Kings Majestie as one of his privy counsel, you shall not know or understand any manner of thing to be attempted, done or spoken against his Majesties Person, Honour, Crown or Dignity Royal: but you shall let and withstand the same, to the utmost of your power, and either cause it to be revealed to his Majestie himself, or to such of his privie Council as shall advertise his Highness of the same. You shall in all things, to be moved, treated and debated in Council, faithfully and truly declare your mind and opinion, according to your heart and conscience, and shall keep secret all matters committed and revealed unto you, or shall be treated off secretly in Counsel, and if any of the same Treaties or Counsels shall touch any of the Councellers

you ſhall not reveale it unto him, but ſhall keep the ſame until ſuch time, as by the conſent of his Majeſty or of the Councel, publication ſhall be made thereof. You ſhall to your uttermoſt bear Faith and Allegiance unto the Kings Majeſtie, his Heirs, and lawful ſucceſſours, and ſhall aſſiſt and defend all juriſdictions, preheminences, and authorities granted to his Majeſtie and annexed to his Crown, againſt all forraign Princes, Perſons, Prelates and Potentates, by act of Parliament or otherwiſe. And generally in all things you ſhall do as a faithful and true ſervant and Subject ought to do to his Majeſtie: So help you God and by the holy contents of this book.

The Oath of a Secretary of State.

YOu ſhal ſwear to be a true & faithfull Servant unto the Kings Majeſtie, as one of the Principal Secretaries

of

of State to his Majestie: you shall not know or understand of any manner of thing to be attempted, done or spoken against his Majesties person, Honour, Crown or Dignity-royal, but you shall let and withstand the same to the uttermost of your power, and either do, or cause it to be revealed, either to his Majestie himself or to his privie Counsel, you shall keep secret all matters revealed and committed unto you, or that shall be secretly treated in Counsel, and if any of the said treaties or Counsels shall touch any of the Councellors, you shall not reveal the same unto him, but shall keep the same until such time as by the consent of his Majestie, or the Counsel, publication shall be made thereof; you shall to your uttermost bear Faith and Allegiance to the Kings Majestie, his heirs and lawful successours, and shall assist and defende all jurisdictions, preheminences and authorities granted to his Majestie and annexed to his Crown,

against

againſt all forraign Princes, Perſons, Prelats or Potentates, &c. By act of Parliament or otherwiſe, & Generally in all things you ſhall do as a true and faithful ſervant and ſubject ought to do to his Majeſtie. So help you God, and by the holy contents of this book.

Subſcription of ſuch as are to be made Miniſters according to the 37 canon and conſtitution, *Anno Dom.* 1603. and in the reign of our Soveraign Lord *Iames*, by the grace of God King of *England*, *Scotland*, *France* and *Ireland* the firſt, and of *Scotland* the 37. in the Synod begun at *London*.

No perſon ſhall hereafter be received into the Miniſtry, nor either by inſtitution or collation admitted to any Eccleſiaſtical living, or by the Arch-Biſhop or Biſhop of the Dioceſs, except he ſhall firſt ſubſcribe to theſe three Articles in ſuch

ſort and manner as we have here appointed.

Article. 1.

That the Kings Majeſtie under God is the only ſupream Governour of this Realm, and of all other his Highneſs Dominions and Countries, as well in all ſpiritual or eccleſiaſtical things, or cauſes, as temporal: and that no forrain Prince, Perſon, Prelat or Potentate have or ought to have any jurisdiction, power, ſuperiority, prehemiinence or authority, Eccleſiaſtical or Spiritual, within his Majeſties ſaid Realmes

Realmes, Dominions and Countries.

Article 11.

That the book of Common-prayer, and of ordering of Biſhops, Prieſts and Deacons, containeth nothing in it contrary to the word of God, and that it may lawfully be uſed, and that he himſelf will uſe the form in the ſaid book preſcribed, in publick prayer and adminiſtration of the Sacraments, and none other.

Article III.

That he alloweth the book of Articles of Religion agreed upon by the Arch-Biſhops and Biſhops of both Provinces, and the whole Clergy in the convocation held at *London*, in the year of our Lord God one thouſand five hundred ſixty and two, and that he acknowledgeth all and every the Articles therein contained, being in number nine an thirty, beſides the Ratification to be agreable to the word of God.

The

The form of words, to avoid all ambiguities, followeth *viz.* Setting down his Chriſtian and Surname.

I, *N. N.* do willingly and *ex Animo*, ſubſcribe to theſe three *Articles* above mentioned, and to all things contained in them.

An Oath againſt Symony, at inſtitution into Benifices,

I *N. N.* do ſwear that I have made no ſymonical payment, contract or promiſe, directly or indirectly, by my ſelf, or any other to my knowledge, or with my conſent, to any perſon or perſons *Can.* 42.

perſons whatſoever, for concerning and obtaining this eccleſiaſtical dignity, place, preferment, office or living, (*reſpectively and particularly naming the ſame, whereunto he is to be admitted, inſtituted, collated, inſtalled or confirmed*,) nor will at any time hereafter perform or ſatisfie any ſuch kind of payment, contract or promiſe made by any other without my knowledg or conſent, So help me God, through Ieſus Chriſt.

And as the Clergy are obliged to ſubſcribe *ex Animo* to the three Articles contained in the 37 canon, ſo

so are they (when they receive holy orders, and are made Deacons or Priests, at their ordination, or when they receive institution to any Ecclesiastical Living or Promotion, and Installation to any Dignity in the Church) obliged to canonical obedience, to their respective Diocesans, and the Bishops likewise are (at their consecrations) obliged to promise Canonical obedience, to their Metropolitans, and the respective Arch-Bishops of either Provinces and Sees of *Canterbury* and *York*: and the Arch-Bishops likewise promise and vow the dutyes of Faith and true Allegiance to the King, when (at their homage, kneeling before the King) they take an Oath of Fealty and Obedience to the King, and his lawful heirs and successors.

These are most holy and sacred [d] bonds, more fit for all the Sonnes of *Aaron* and the Tribe of *Levy*, and

[d] *Iuramentum est confirmatio verbi; de quo juratur.* Orig.

These do breed, keep and cherish Peace & unity in the Church; [e] oblige the inferiour orders to their superiours; & in fine, unite all ecclesiastick subjects in true Allegiance to their King. And though the Anabaptists and some squemish Phanaticks, (cunningly instructed, or factiously engaged) are shy of such sacred oaths and obligations: yet, it is warranted from the holy Scripture. Thus *Abimelech* and *Phicol* required an Oath from *Abraham*, *Now therefore swear unto me here by God, that thou wilt not deal falsly with me, nor with my Son, nor with my Sonns Son.* Thus *Moses* directeth *Israel*, [f] *Thou shalt fear the Lord thy God and serve him, and swear by his name.* Thus [g] *Ezra arose and made the cheif Priests, the Levites, and all Israel to swear, that they should do according to this word: and they sware.* And if yet, any deluded or factious Curiosity, be not satisfied, but will object

[e] *Quid est jurare per Deum, nisi testis est Deus? D. August. de verbis Apostoli serm. 28.*

Gen. 21. 23.

[f] *Deut. 6. 13. 10. 12. 13. 4.*

[g] *Ezra 10. 5.*

object evangelical ſtrict Commands againſt lawful Oathes: becauſe Chriſt hath preached [h] *Swear not at all*: and St. *Iames* adviſed, [i] *above all things (my brethren ſwear not.)* Yet theſe ſacred Cautions and Commands, were not to take away the lawful and holy, but the unlawful and profane uſe and cuſtome of Oathes. Thus St. *Hierom* commenteth. Our Saviour doth not utterly forbid an Oath, *ſed per cælum & terram jurare*! St. *Auguſtine* ſeems more full and plain, ſaying, that Counſel was given to prevent an idle and ſinful habit of ſwearing; which from a profane facility, might quickly run into cuſtome, and ſo fall into perjury; or, that no perſons ſhould be affected with cuſtomary Oathes or ſwearing; [k] or greedily with delight and delectation to ſeek and hunt after Oathes, which on good grounds may be lawful: and for a good end and

h Matt. 5. 34.

i Iam. 5. 12.

i *Hanc ejimenta jurandi, peſſimam conſuetudinem habere Iudai noſcuntur.* D. Hiero. *in* 5. Mat.

k *Dico vobis non jurare omnino, ne ſcil. jurando ad facilitatem jurandi Perveniatur, & in facultate jurandi ad conſuetudinem & à conſuetudine in Perjurium decidatur.* D. Auguſt. *de mendacio, cap.* 15.

and purpoſe, to diſcern truth, and to end all Controverſies; And thus St. *Paul* (on ſeveral occaſions) hath preſented himſelf an Apoſtolical exemplar to Gods Church. And to all that hath been ſaid, it may be further added. That it is a Theological determination of the Church of *England*; [1] to which every true ſonne hath or ought to ſubſcribe and ſubmit. *That as vain and raſh ſwearing is forbidden Chriſtian men by our Lord Ieſus Chriſt, and Iames his Apoſtle: ſo we judge that Chriſtian Religion doth not prohibit, but that a man may ſwear, when the Magiſtrate requireth, in a cauſe of faith and charity. So it be done according to the Prophets teaching, in Iuſtice, Iudgement and Truth.*

[1] Articles of Religion. 39. Article.

The

The Oath of *Allegiance* and *Supremacy*; enjoined by order of Parliament.

The Oath of *Allegiance*.

I A. B. *Do truly and sincerely acknowledge, professe, testifie and declare in my conscience before God and the world, that our Soveraign Lord King* Charles *is lawful and rightful King of this Realm, and of all other his Majesties Dominions and Countries; and that the Pope, neither of himself, nor by any authority of the Church or See of Rome, or by any other means with any other, hath any power or authority to depose the King, or to dispose any of his Majesties Kingdomes or Dominions, or to authorise any Foreign Prince to invade or annoy him or his Countries, or to discharge any of his Subjects of their Allegiance and obedience to his Majesty, or to give license or leave to any of them to bear Armes, raise Tumults, or to offer any violence or hurt to his Majesties Royal Person, State or Government, or to any of his Majesties Subjects within his Majesties Dominions.*

Also I do swear from my heart, that notwithstanding any Declaration or Sentence of Excommunication or Deprivation made or granted, or to be made or granted by the Pope or his Successours, or by any Authority derived or pretended to be derived from him or his See, against the said King, his Heirs or Successours, or any Absolution of the said Subjects from their Obedience; I will bear Faith and true Allegiance to his Majesty, his Heirs and Successours, and him and them will defend to the uttermost of my power, against all conspiracies and attempts whatsoever which shall be made against his or their Persons, their Crown and Dignity, by reason or colour of any such Sentence or Declaration or otherwise; and will do my best endeavour to disclose and make known unto his Majesty, his Heirs and Successours, all Treasons and Trayterous Conspiracies which I shall know or hear of, to be against him or any of them.

And I do further swear, That I do from my heart abhor, detest and abjure, as impious and heretical, this Damnable Doctrine and Position, That princes which be excommunicated or deprived by the Pope, may be deposed or murthered by their Subjects,

Subjects, or any other whatsoever.

And I do believe and in conscience am resolved, that neither the Pope nor any person whatsoever hath power to absolve me of this Oath, or any part thereof which I acknowledge by good and full Authority to be lawfully administred unto me, and do renounce all pardons and dispensations to the contrary. And all these things I doe plainly and sincerely acknowledge, & swear according to these expreße words by me spoken, and according to the plain and common sense and understanding of the same words, without any equivocation, or mental evasion, or secret reservation whatsoever: And I do make this Recognition and acknowledement heartily, willingly and truly, upon the true faith of a Christian. So help me God, *&c.*

The Oath of *Supremacy.*

I A. B. *Do utterly testifie and declare in my conscience, that the* King's *Highneße is the onely Supream Governour of this Realm, and of all other his Highneße's Dominions and Countries, as well in all Spiritual or Ecclesiastical things or causes as Temporal; And that no Foreign*

Prince, Perſon, Prelate, State or Potentate, hath or or ought to have any Juriſdiction, Power, Superiority, Preeminence or Authority Eccleſiaſtical or Spiritual within this Realm: And therefore I do utterly renounce and forſake all Forraign Jurisdictions, Powrs, Superiorities and Authorities, and do promiſe that from henceforth I ſhall bear Faith and true Allegiance to the King's *Highneſſe, his Heirs and lawfull Succeſſours, and to my power ſhall aſſiſt and defend all Jurisdictions, Priviledges, Preeminences and Authorities granted, or belonging to the* Kings *Highneſs, his Heirs and ſucceſſours or united and annexed to the Imperial Crown of this Realm.* So help me God, and by the contents of this book.

Theſe Platforms and models of Oathes, as they are of holy uſe to unite our fidelity to God and Man, ſo they are of Divine Authority, and ſeem to be influential from Heaven, from whence we have the Sacred example; ſo the Scriptures teſtifie. Exod, 33. 1. *Depart hence unto the Land which I ſwear unto* Abraham Iſaac *and* Jacob. Thus divine uſage is very frequent with God. Deut 1. 8.

34.

34. 35. Psal. 95. 9. Luk. 1. 73. Heb. 6. 13. Heb. 7. 21. *And as God pleased to confirm his promise with an Oath. So King* David *Gods anointed voweth and sweareth, calling on God and praying, Lord remember* David *and all his Afflictions, how he swear unto the Lord and vowed to the mighty God of* Jacob. Psal. 132. 1. 2. And *Solomon* his royal Son gave Counsel to all his subjects, and all the world. *I counsel thee to keep the Kings commandement and that in regard of the Oath of God.* Eccles. 8. 2.

Having now set fourth the sacred Oaths and obligations of the Kings and Queens of *England*, and of some of the cheif Officers and Ministers of State, together with the Homage of the Ecclesiastical Hierarchy, and temporal Nobility, and of the three great Officers of Court: the Lord high Steward, the Master of the Horse, and the Lord Chamberlain, by their Oathes as privy counsellors under, whose im-

mediate command and power, all ſervants at Court, are ſworn to fidelity and obedience, in their reſpective relations, and ranks of order, degrees and ſubordinations. It is plain and eaſie to every rational ſubject to diſcern and ſee the moſt excellent form of Government that the prudence and piety of former ages hath conveyed to the Engliſh to this preſent time: and we cannot do leſs then admire and magnifie the gracious providence, and riches of Gods favours to the Kingdome of *England*, who hath with the golden chain of harmonious Government ſo linckedKings and Queens to himſelf, and all their ſubjects and people to their ſoveraign Princes, that no Kingdome under the canopy of Heaven, hath a better frame of Government, either for Church or State, or the tranſaction of Eccleſiaſtick or civil concernments and affaires, in which

there

there is ſuch an incementing concatenation by wholeſome laws, and cuſtomes, for juſtice, and the happy preſervation of all the peoples Rights, that as the King may ſit as happily and ſecurely on his Throne as any Monarch on earth, ſo his people may as proſperouſly thrive under his gracious Government, and repoſing themſelves under their own vines and figtrees; as cheerfully enjoy the ineſtimable bleſſings of their own juſt rights, and labours, Milk and Hony, with the overflowing favours of Peace and Plenty. How great a crime muſt it then be, to wreſt or break one of the invaluable lincks of this golden concatenation, which Soveraign Princes graciouſly pleaſe to ſtrengthen and conſolidate (if poſſible) by their ſacred Oathes to God, which cannot but indear and more oblige ingenuous ſubjects to greater exactneſs of duty and fide-

lity, considering that these pious proceeding, are more acts of Grace and voluntary and Princely condescentions flowing from the fountaines of their own royal goodness, being methods of high degrees of kindness and love; where words or promises, and those at their royal wills and pleasure, are to be looked on, not only as certainties and assurances, but as deeds and compleat performances. The civil Law expecteth as much from Noble men, and Persons of Honour, that there words be equally esteemed as their deeds, m thus *Homer* honorably mentions *Agamemnon* n the word was no sooner out of that great worthies mouth, but it was his act and deed, but Princes are of more sublime and higher qualities as being earthly Gods, their words are more Sacred and Soveraign. Thus *Pylat* though an inferiour Potentate, toul'd the lews

m *Promissa nobilium pro factis habentur. And Iser. c. 1. Tantum fidei & legalitatis presumitur in Nobilibus ut si quicquam promiserint id per equesit certum ac indubitatum ac si jam factum esset. And Iser. c, 1.*

n ἀυτὶκ ἔπειθ' ἅμα μῦθος ἐὴν τέτελεςο δὲ ἔργον. *Homer. Iliad. 18.*

lews, *quod ſcripſi, ſcripſi.* And *Servius* commenting on thoſe words of the Poet [o] *Do, quod vis, bene inquit, preſenti uſus eſt tempore: nam promiſſio in Deis pro facto eſt.* I give what thou wilt, the God did well to uſe the preſent tenſe, as if the will and words of Princes were very Acts and Deeds, but if any knot can binde faſter then words or promiſes, ſee the gracious diſpoſitions and cuſtomes of the Kings of *England*, offering up (as in the beauty of holineſs,) the ſacrifice of pious reſolutions to God Almighty, in ſacred oathes for their moſt Princely government.

[o] *Virgil. lib. 12. Æneid.*

And as Kings thus unite themſelves. by theſe moſt Sacred bonds to the King of Kings, ſo their Officers and Miniſters of State, and ſervants of their Courts, are engaged by ſpecial Oathes of Obedience and Fidelity, and all their ſubjects are obliged by a national Law, to ſwear

to

to the Oathes of Allegiance and Supremacy, no rank being to be excuſed (at the age of Eighteen) from theſe juſt and rational obligations, unleſs the Lords and Peers of the Realm, whoſe refined Honour being as equivalent, if not more ſuperlative, doth as powerfully indear them to loyalty and true allegiance to their Princes; it cannot then but be juſtly cenſured a crime of the higheſt nature to violate ſacred bonds with treachery and infidelity; and yet that ſoul ſin may be preſented more ugly, when any in greater and neerer truſt about the King, (as a Miniſter of his royal affairs, or a ſworn ſervant of his Court) ſhall perfidiouſly or timorouſly forfeit his Faith, which by duplicated Oathes being ſealed on his Soul, as a door more ſecure under a double lock ought to be more firm, and not to be forced by any Art or Engine: and if ſingle per-

jury

jury be ſo notorious a crime; how horrid and helliſh will it appear in the multiplication of falſe illegal & perjurous and damnable Oathes.

The link and jonts of government, thus reaching from Heaven to Eatth, from God to Man, and from the King of Kings to Kings and Princes on earth, they thence graciouſly deſcend from royal thrones, to the meaneſt and loweſt of all their people: who in a community participate of the bleſſings of Monarchy, under the protection and Grace of their Prince, and the benefit and proviſion of moſt excellent and wholeſom laws, againſt whoſe ſacred Perſon (as being Gods annointed) or rules of government, if any ſhould be ſo traitterous or ſeditious, as to dare to contrive or conſpire, they merit the ſeyereſt degrees of puniſhment, and though they be as near to the Crown in blood as *Abſalon* to

King

King *David*, or as near in truſt and Counſels, as the grand oraculous politician *Achitophel*, yet no relation or employment can ſo palliat the blakneſſe of their offences, but that all good ſubjects are obliged as *Huſhai* the *Archite*, to preſerve their Prince in his royal Crown and dignity, and to detect and diſcover, diſſipate and deſtroy all treacherous conſpiraces, and rebellious Treaſons againſt their Prince. This was the reſolution and adventure of Noble *Huſhai*, who commanded by King *David* obeyed his royal pleaſure, and leaving the King in a deplorable ſad condition, addreſſed to the uſurper and traitor *Abſalon*, and ſeemingly confederated with that unnatural Arch-Traitor, and *Achitophel* and his complices; but God had ſo appointed that this loyal ſubject, by his wiſdom and fidelity intrapped *Abſalon* to his merited ruine, and ſo in-

infatuated the Councels of *Achitophel*, that the despairing Traitor (hanging himself,) became his own executioner, and the rebellious army being routed, and totally defeated, and *Absalon* hanged by the head in a tree, King *David* was gloriously restored to the royal City of *Hierusalem*.

But least any presume to be loyall *Hushites*, who cannot reasonably merit the opinion or Name of true Royalists, and so not prove King *Davids* friends. It is necessary that some characters and distinctions be intermitted for cleerer truth, and plainer perspicuiry of what is dross, what is sophisticated false and fained mettal, and what (in this point) by the impartial touch-stone is judged pure and perfect gold.

The story of this concernment is a sacred record, written by the holy Prophet *Samuel*, P which describes King *Davids* danger and deliverance

P 2 Sam. 15.

rance, his enemies and his friends, preſents to the world the undutifulneſs of an unnatural Son, and the rebellious attempts of ambitious and traiterous ſubjects, *Abſalon* was the Arch traitor, and *Achitophel* the cheif Counſelour in this foul conſpiracy and black Treaſon, and the Prophet (as if to forewarn the world from future deluſion and infatuation of that kind) deſcribes the Traitors and Conſpirators. Firſt, defaming and diſhonoring the Kings government, ſowing ſedition, and diſgracing the royal Courts of Iuſtice, ſaying, 2 *Sam.* 15. 3. *See, ſaith* Abſolon, *thy matters be good and right, but there is no man deputed of the King to hear thee.* This deſign was countenanced with the pompe and pride of a popular train. 2 *Sam.* 15. 1. to amaze or allure the vulgar, Abſolon *prepared Chariots and Horſes, and fifty men to run before him.* A great pretence to execute

Traiterous crimes or marks, 1. defamation or detraction.

2 Popular pompe & pride.

execute judgement, and do juſtice, promoted this rebellion, ſo the grand Impoſtor made way to advance his rebellion ſaying 2 *Sam.* 15. 4. *O that I were made Iudge in the land, that every man that hath any ſuite or cauſe might come unto me,* (as the Supream Magiſtrate and cheif Iuſtice) *And I would do him juſtice,* vigilancy, diligence and indefatigable induſtry and attendance; to careſs and court the people, were active practiſes of this popular politician ſo *Samuel* ſets forth the traitour in the 2 *Sam.* 15. 2. Abſolon *roſe up early and ſtood beſide the way of the Gate, and when any man that had a controvercy came to the King for judgement, then* Abſolon *called unto him,* and with oily courtſhip quickly deluded common capacities, and ſimple credulity: this venemous and traiterous infatuation, that ſo ſwelled the people with avarice and ambition, was as epidemick

3 A pretence to do juſtice and execute judgement.

4 Reſtleſs watching day and night.

5 Flattery and adulation.

6 Traiterous infection is usually epidmical

epidemick and national, as infectious and insnaring, *For, on this manner did* Absolon *to all* Israel *that came to the King for judgement.* 2 Sam. 15.6. Traitors usually pules every vain, try all tempers, and incline all humours to augment and corroberate their party, and to effectuate their evil contrivances and machinations,

7 Traitors are most courty crafty and fullest of dissimulation.

And as traitors lay their plots and designs, for general advantages, so they bend and humble themselves to court and catch all capacities. Thus *Cataline* caressed the loweſt of the Romans as he passed in the streets. And it is remarkable in *Absolon*, how like a Serpent he insinuated, creeping and cringing, bending and bowing to the earth; so the Prophet observes him in his cariage to the meaneſt *Israelite*, 1 *Sam.* 15. 5. *And it was so that when any man came nigh to him, to do him obeysance, he put forth his hand and took him*

him and kissed him. But that which was the cheifest cheat, and both deluded King *David* and his subjects, was cunning hypocrisy, or (in the abused canting phraise of these jugling times) Liberty of conscience, and a pretence to holinesse, or performance of religious vows; so the Prophet describes the deceiver. 2 *Sam.* 15. 7. 8, *And it came to passe after forty years that* Absolon *said unto the* King, *I pray thee let me go and pay my vow, which I have vowed unto the Lord in* Hebron; *for thy servant vowed a vow while I abode at* Geshur *in* Syria, *saying if the Lord shall bring me again indeed to* Jerusalem, *then I will serve the Lord.* And as this arch conspirator *Absolon*, so his councellor *Achitophel* seemd to be very zealous, and religious: so the Prophet taketh notice that *Achitophel* being sent for by *Absolon*, *He was at his City of* Gi oh *where he was raising rebel-*

8 Hypocrisie or the holy cheat

lion when offering ſacrifices. 2 *Sam.* 15. 12. There were many thouſands engaged and envolved in the conſpiracy, and ſome few hundred more innocent, or rather leſs malicious Traitors: and the Prophet to their comfort recordeth both their number and their qualities, 2 *Sam.* 15. 11. *And with* Abſolon *went two hundred men out of* Ieruſalem, *that were called, and they went in their ſimplicity, and they knew not any thing.* There is yet one attendant more, that is concomitant and adherent to traiterous diſpoſitions, which are for the moſt part, very falſe and horridly perfidious; thus *Abſolon* had no ſooner leave to go *in peace to* Hebron, *but immediately he ſent his ſpies through all the tribes of* Iſrael, *ſaying, as ſoon as ye hear the ſound of the Trumpet, then ye ſhall ſay* Abſolon *reigneth in* Hebron, 2 *Sam.* 15. 10. Theſe nine characters whiles they continue

9 Traitors are falſe and moſt perfidious.

nue engraven on traiterous ſubjects hearts; they cannot be permitted to the reputation of true royaliſts, as *Huſhai* the *Archite*, that noble *Iſraelite*, who was not tainted with any of theſe defiling qualities, but poſitively and in the affirmative was richly endued with many heroick virtues, which did highly capacitate his noble ſoul, for the ſervice of his God the God of *Iſrael*, and for *David* the King the Lords annointed, and for the Peace, Liberty and Hapineſs of the Kingdome and Country, where he was an honourable Courtier, a prudent Counſellour, a loyal ſubject, and faithful Patriot; and the holy pen of that ſacred writer, who did ſet forth & character *Abſolon*, *Achitophel* and their traiterous confederates, doth delineate and portray in moſt (lively colours) the moſt incomparable and ſupereminent virtues of the true and perfect royaliſt in the great

abilities and worth of *Huſhai* the *Archite*, who (ſaith the Prophet) was in zealous paſſion, or holy indignation, to ſee his King in a ſad condition, his people in rebellion, and the whole Kingdome in ſuch a wild confuſion and diſtraction, *Ecce occurrit ei Chuſai Arachites, ſciſſâ veſte & terrâ pleno capite.* *Behold* Huſhai *the* Archite *came to meet the King with his coat rent, and earth upon his head.* Good ſubjects they neither value liberty, life or limb, riches or fortune, nor any perſonal concernment; but when their King and his Crown is in danger, and his royal Perſon in the field, they hazard and adventure all; as loyal ſubjects in their Princes ſervice, and they are not only to attend, but to be active, quick and lively in the concernment of a Crown: this great worthy is a noble example of diligence and activeneſs in his ſwift endeavours to advance his princes cauſe, their

Characters of true royaliſts. 1. Holy indignation, for their King in a ſad conditon. 2 Sam. 15. 32.

2 Attend there Prince in greateſt danger.

is

is no mention made of declaration or proclamation, of the call of a drum or ſound of trumpet, but as ſoon as the royal Standar is mounted, and it is but whiſpered, or at leaſt but rumourd that King *David* was in danger, and his people in rebellion, *Huſhai* ſpeedily poſteth and addreſſeth to the royal camp, ſo the Prophet expreſſeth, *Chuſhai Archites occurrit*, ran (as with all haſte) *to meet the King*, impatient until he came to his Princes aid and aſſiſtance. This worthy *Iſraelite* was neither timorouſly or cowardly inclind, as ignoble *Poultrones*, nor treacherouſly affected as *Laodicean* newters, nor ſhackled and impriſoned with the fetters of baſe and filthy luſts, as lacivious and luxurious epicures, but, as on a ſuddain abandoning and quitting all delights prophits and concernments; as ſwift as lightning, he flyeth to attend his Prince in his dangerous extremities,

3 True royaliſts ought to be quick and active for their King in danger.

as *Hushai* was quick and active for the preservation of his King: so he appeares (which was his greater honour and commendation,) religious, and rightly setled for his principles in Gods worship and service; he was no black soul'd Atheist, whose devotion intirely attends his interest, nor factious Schismatick, hypocritical separatist, or brain sick Phanatick, but a true *Israelite* indeed; and so it appears, by the double circumstances of the manner and time of his attendance; for the manner it was in a Iewish mode and dress, his cloathes rent, and his head covered with earth, emblems of sorrow and indignation, and a religious condolement and compassion. And as to the time of his address, it proved either by design or providence to be at that instant, *When the King was come to the top of the Mount, where he worshipped God, behold* Hushai *the* Archite *came*

4 The best royalists the most religious. Περιεργάζονται ζητοῦντες τάτε ὑπὸ γῆν καὶ τὰ ἐπουράνια. *Plato in Apol.* 2 Sam. 15. 32. *Ista ingeniorum scabies ut omnes disputare malint quam vivere.* Seneca epist. 2. 5.

to

to meet him. Even then when the King was at his prayers and earnestly said, *O Lord I pray thee turn the Counsel of* Achitophel *into foolishnesse.* Then as joyning in holy devotion, did *Hushai* most happily attend his Kings commands. To these excellent capacities and fitnes, King *David* found *Hushai* a man of courage & magnanimity, neither fearing the Enemies power, nor distrusting the Kings more weak and sad condition, not of a low and pusillanimous spirit, nor of a ranting and vaporing humour, who like some squibs and crackers will thunder and roare like lyons, (and though the cause be never so good) in an instant change their notes, and like timorus Hares betake themselves to there heels. This *Israelite* was a person of honour and courage, truly valiant, and therefore more proper for service of highest trust, and as this bright shining virtue did shew it

2 Sam. 15. 31.

5 Fortitude requisit in true royalists.

6 Temperance requisite in all royalists,

ſelf in *Huſhai*; ſo temperance (doubtleſſe) kept him company, without whoſe influence underſtanding, ſence and reaſon, or what can be thought honorable to a Prince, will ſuddenly be drowned and overwhelmed in the ſtinking puddles of gluttony, drunkenneſſe, ryot, luxury, or deteſtable debaucheries. Temperance and valour, loves to keep company with juſtice; And 'tis very probable that this golden rule of doing right, and giving to every man his due, was a chief motive to King *David* to employ one of ſo juſt and righteous reſolutions, who ſo dutifully paying his loyalty to his Prince as ſo cheerfully to hazard and adventure his life, might (poſſibly) be more ſucceſsful in ſo near a concernment as the preſerving of a King on his Throne, and the appeaſing and extinguiſhing of the flames of ſo formidable a treaſon. Theſe three fair Ladies are never

7 Juſtice and upright dealing.

never without the ſociety and counſel of Prudence, and in this perillous juncture ſhe might be more highly uſeful, becauſe as *Plato*, ſhe is the cheifeſt guide that beſt adviſeth humain actions. q *Ariſtotle* is more plain urging r that no man can be juſtly ſtiled good or honeſt, who is not prudent, as neceſſary to true Policy and Government, as the line and plummet to the skilful *Architect* ſ. This as the rudder turnes the Ship and beſt ſteers the courſe when ſhe is under ſaile: the King experiencing a quick and lively ſpirit, a great judgement and more ſolid underſtanding in his loyal ſubject the *Archite*, reſolved to make choice of his faithful abilities, when his Crown and life and all that was ſoveraign and truly royal, ſeemed to be in an ambiguous and dangerous ſtate. To all theſe the conſtancy, the fidelity, the ſecreſie, the extraordinary friendſhip, paſſionate love

s Prudence,

q *Prudentia ſola praeit & ducit ad recte faciendum. Plato in menâ.*

r *Fieri non poteſt ut quiſquam vere probus ſine prudentia audiat. Ariſt. & hic.*

ſ *Vt Architectis nullum opus recte proceſſerit ſine libella & I. Lipſ.*

love and amity, that King *David* had for *Huſhai*, or that *Huſhai* had for the perſon and high calling of the King: theſe happy experiences might rationally incline King *Davids* confidence, to recommend and commiſſionate his faithful ſubject to manage and conduct this weighty buſineſs. Theſe are lively marks of true loyaliſts, and well worthy and becoming the imitation of all who pretend to be loyal ſubjects; yet this caſe of *Huſhai* ſeems to be of a moſt remarkable and extraordinary quality, both in reſpect of King *David* and in relation to *Huſhai*. Firſt, in regard of the King, who (ſurpriſed with a rebellion, under a pretence of Religion, and a vow to be performed at *Hebron*) was forced to a ſuddain neceſſity, to uſe his greateſt Art and Policy to diſperſe and diſſolve that growing traiterous cloud which began to ſpread, and to look ſo formidable

9 Conſtancy, Fidelity, Secreſy are requiſite in true loyaliſts.

dable. Thus a great Critick adventures to comment on the text, and saith *David* as a great commander and experienced general, wanted neither wit nor arts, and martial designs, to crush in peices, and counterplot *Absolons* ambitious aimes, others conjecture that this extraordinary command and commission, was given to *Hushai* from *David* as his *King*, who having a soveraign power over all his subjects might exact obedience, having a superlative Authority, in so great a peril to circumstance his royal pleasure in this service: as the King should please to judge fit for persons, time and place, and this seems very probable from the Prophet *Samuel*[u] who thus records the dialogue betwixt the King and *Hushai*, *If thou passest on with me, thou shalt be a burden to me, but if thou return into the City thou maist defeat the Counsel of Achitophel.*

[t] *Non desterebant Davidem in tantis malis sua Artes; sed ubi Lenina non proderat, assumit vulpinam. H. Grotius in* 2 Sam. 15.

[u] 2 Sam. 15. 33. 34. *Si veneris mecum eris mihi oneri.*

And

And *Vatablus* [x] seemeth to encline much to this purpose, as if the King had reasoned [y] the case and debated with *Hushai*, thus; saying, thou art a subject of great experience, as sharp sighted as an Eagle in popular commotions, strong in judgement, prudent in Counsels, Eloquent and powerful in perswasion, a Lion for courage, and a Lamb for courtship: civility and curtesie, go thou into the City *Hierusalem*, and if possible defeat *Achitophels* counsel; there is a third conjecture, which seems to carry with it the cleerest truth, and that is in this unexemplary command and service, King *David* as a Prophet, and the Lords annointed, by a divine direction or infusion from above in this sea of troubles, guided more especially by the dictates of Gods holy spirit, found out this happy expedient to avoide his Enemies, and to destroy their traiterous combinations, this seem to

x *Videsne tu? valesne tu in concilio, quod si vales concilio revertere, plus enim mihi profuturis redeundo quam manendo Vatablus in loc.*

2 Sam. 15.

y *Nonne videns es? nonne Propheta es? si dominus respondebit tibi redeundum in urbem rediit, Chal. Paraph.*

to be genuinly derived from the ſacred hiſtory, which relates that King *David* worſhipping God, fell to his prayers and ſaid [z] *O Lord I pray thee turn the counſel of* Achitophel *into fooliſhneſſe*, and the King had no ſooner ended his prayers, and was come to the top of the mount where he worſhipped God but *Huſhai* came to meet him, and the King (as directed by the ſpirit of God) immediately commandeth *Huſhai* inſtructing him with the matter and a form of ſuch words, as ſeemed to be ſutable only for ſuch a ſervice, as he was employed in, and as ſent from Heaven to ſave a King from periſhing, and to preſerve a Kingdome, *Say* (Huſhai) *unto* Abſolom *I will be thy ſervant O King, as I have been thy Fathers ſervant hitherto, ſo will I now be thy ſervant alſo.* This commiſſion was only futable to ſuch a ſoveraign Prince, whoſe divine ſpirit, was directed

2 Sam. 15. 31.

z 2 Sam. 15. 34. *Dixeris Abſolom ſervus tuus ſum Rex; Patere me vivere.*

from

from above. and it is very colligible from the context of this ſtory: that King *David* had for the tranſaction of this high concern (wherein a King, a Church and Kingdome were all in ſuch eminent danger) an extraordinary and prophetical ſpirit, and that will plainly manifeſt itſelf, when it is obſerved and ſcanned how *Huſhai* comported himſelf in this royal truſt wherein the King employed him, which was ſo ſucceſsful, that (by Gods aſſiſtance) it cauſed the ruine of the traitors and that high rebellion. The Prophet mentions *Huſhai's* inſinuation into *Abſolons* preſence, and into his Counſels, wherein as he ſhewed his obedienceto his Prince and his own matchleſs wiſdome, and invincible courage, who was neither catched with *Abſolons* flattery, nor danted with the oraculous policy of perfidious *Achitophel*. *Huſhai* made his way as King *David* commanded him

him, saying, to *Absolon* [a] *God save the King, God save the King*: and now having by fair speeches justly insnared the flatterer, and gained acceptance and credulity, *Hushai* attendeth his opportunity, to annihilate and destroy the traytors and their treason, which he brought to good effect: first, by opposing and decrying the counsels of *Achitophel*, which being refused, the despairing Statist, *went forth and hanged himself*. [b] It cannot but be pertinent to observe how justly the judgements of God found out this prodigious matchiavil; who sowed the tares of dissention betwixt a Father and his Son: and cherished the seeds of Rebellion in the subjects against their Liege Lord and King: the horror of his crimes, (as yet more odious and abominable in the eyes of God and men) are recorded to his lasting infamie in the sacred History, where the diversity

a 2 Sam. 16. 16. *Salve Rex. Salve Rex.*

b 2 Sam. 17. 23.

of

of *Achitophels* and *Hushai's* counsels are set forth at large, with the successe of both. First, *Absolom* calleth for *Achitophel*, c *and said give us counsel, what we shall do*, and as he presently venteth the poyson of his soul, damnably advising *Absolom to go into his Fathers Concubines, which he hath left to keep the house, and all* Israel *shal hear that thou art abhorred of thy Father, then shall all the hands that are with thee be strong*. This evil counsel was to well entertained and practised, and prosecuted with as much impudency as impiety, for *they spread* Absolon *a Tent upon the top of the House, and* d Absolon *went into his Fathers Concubines in the sight of all* Israel. As this foul sin was prepared to make not only a breach, but an abhorrency betwixt the Father and the Son, so the *Ahithophelite* proceeded in his dangerous and destructive counsels perswading *Absolon, that he might have the choice*

c 2 Sam. 16. 20.

d 2 Sam. 16. 22.

choice of twelve thousand men, that he might arise and pursue after David in the night, and saith he I will come upon him while he is weary and weakhanded, and will make him afraid, and all the people that are with him shall flee, and I will smite the King only. e Herein was much mischief contayned as the force of a considerable Army, the terrour of a pursuit in the night, and bloud thirsty cruelty threatning, to chase or surprise a feeble and fainty marching Army; and most maliciously to smite and murder the King only, but God prevented the mischiefs of this bad counsel and fowl design. For it pleased the providence of Heaven, to order that *Absolon* should call likewise *Hushai* the *Archite* and to hear what he said and he (obedient to King *Davids* instructions, and guided by the breathings of the holy spirit gave counsel) of another complexion, saying boldly and

e 2 Sam. 17. 1. 2.

faithfully f *That the counsel that* Achitophel *hath given is not good at this time for* (*said* Hushai) *thou knowest that thy Father and his men be mighty men, and they be chafed in their minds* g *as a bear that is robbed of her whelps in the field, and thy Father is a man of war and will not lodge with the people behold he is now hid in some pit, or in some other place. And it will come to pass when some of them be overthrown at the first, that whosoever heareth it, will say, there is a slaughter among the people that follow* Absolon. *And he also that is valiant and his heart as the heart of a Lyon shall utterly melt: for all* Israel *know that thy Father is a mighty man and that they that be with him be valient men. Therefore I counsel that all* Israel *be gathered generally to gather from* Dan *even to* Beersheba, *as the sand that is by the sea for multitude, and that thou go to battaile in thy own person, so shall we come upon him*

f 2 Sam. 17. 7.

g Bitter of Soul.

2 Sam. 17. 7. 8. 9. 10. 11.

him in some place where he shall be found, and we will light upon him as the dew that falleth upon the ground, and of him and of all the men that are with him, there shall not be left so much as one. Moreover if he be gotten into a City, then shall all Israel *bring ropes unto that City and we will draw it into the River, until there is not one small stone to be found there.*

This counsel was clean contrary to *Achitophels* presenting King *David* and his Army not feeble but formidable, and admitted not of *Achitophels* but of *Absolons* own advancing with his Army of Rebels, and as God had appointed and ordered, even so it came to pass. *And* Absolon *and all the men of* Israel *said, the counsel of* Hushai *the* Archite *is better then the counsel of* Achitopheh. This endeavour succeeding prosperously, it was to be hoped that the traitors being distracted in their counsels, might not h 2 Sam. 17. 14.

prosper in their black design which fell out accordingly. God and the King having instructed *Hushai*, the work went on the better and the holy record beareth witnesse of the truth. *For the Lord had*[k] *appointed*[l] *to defeat the good counsel of* Achitophel: *Vt induceret Dominus malum, super* Absolon; *to the intent that the Lord might bring evil uppon* Absolon. These great transactions, thus wisely & faithfully managed; *Hushai* (according to the Kings command) imparted the secrets and results of the counsels *to* Zadock *and* Abiathar *the Priests, saying, thus and thus did* Achitophel *counsel* Absolon *and the Elders of* Israel; *and thus and thus have I counselled, now therefore send quickly*[m] *and tell* David, *saying, lodge not this night in the plaines of the wilderness, but speedily pass over, least the King be swallowed up, and all the people that are with him.* Now Ionathan *and* Ahimaaz *stayed by* En-

k 2 Sam. 17. 14.

l *Num dominus* the original beares had commanded

m 2 Sam. 17. 15. 16.

rogel

togel (*for they might not be seen within the City*) *and a Wench went and told them, and they went and told King* David *and he arose* upon this intelligence, *and all the people that were with him and passed over* Jordan *by the morning light, there lacked not one of them that was not gone over* Iordan. The King thus advised of the Enemies designes, advanced to *Mahonaim* and taking a view of his forces, divided his Army into three Brigades, and set one third part under the command of his General *Joab*, another third part under the command *Abishai* the Son of *Zerviah*, and a third part under the hand of *Ittai* the *Gittite*; the Army then and thus advancing, the battel *was in the wood of* Ephraim *where the people of* Israel *were slain before the servants of* David, *and there was a slaughter that day of twenty thousand men*, and *Absolon* (as neither worthy of favour from

Vers. 22.

King *Davids* generals *Ioab Abishai Ittai*, 2 Sam. 18. 2. 6. 7.

Heaven or Earth) riding on a mule *his head was caught hold* on by the thick boughes of the Oak, and the Mule, (the very beast whereon he rode) forsook him and went away and left him to be pierced through with the darts of vengance, and the weapons of death. The Traitors thus dispersed and routed, good news of a happy victory, and tidings of Salvation was posted to King *David* in the mouth of *Chushi* [n] so the Prophet *Samuel* relates that *Chushi* came, and *Chushi* said, *tidings my Lord the King, for the Lord hath avenged thee this day on all those that rose up against thee.* The Enemies discomfited and the victory proclaimed *Israel* as well as *Iudah* fell into a zealous emulation and contention for loyalty, and King *Davids* Enemies strive to manifest themselves chearful and obedient subjects: this is evident in the sacred passages of this

2 Sam. 18. 31.

his royal ſtory, Iſrael *fled every man to his tent*, and as at an inſtant in the next verſe ſaith the Prophet *and all the people were at ſtrife*, through all the tribes of *Iſrael* ſaying, *The King ſaved us out of the hands of our Enemies, and he delivered us out of the* Philiſtines, *and now he is fled out of the Land, for* Abſolon, *and* Abſolon *whom we have anointed over us is dead in battel. Now therefore why ſpeak ye not a word of bringing the King back.* Thus the Kings greateſt Enemies in his ſuddain proſperity became his friends, but as for *Iudah* his loyal party, the King (returning towards *Hieruſalem* in triumph) had an eye principally on them. *And King* David *ſent to* Zadock *and to* Abiathar, *ſaying, ſpeak unto the Elders of* Judah *ſaying, why are ye the laſt to bring back the King to his houſe, ſeeing the ſpeech of all* Iſrael *is come to the King even to his houſe, ye are my brethren, ye are my bones, and ye are my fleſh, wherefore then are ye the laſt to bring back the King.* Thus at King *Davids* return and

2 Sam. 19. 6.

2 Sam. 19. 10. 11.

restauration towards Hierusalem *Judah* and *Israel*, friends and foes all being King *Davids* subjects, united their acclamations in this happy occasion of solemn joy: and as rivals seemed to contend whether Tribes should appear more absolute and perfect royalists, the Prophets expressions are most emphatical. *And behold all the men of* Israel *came to the King, and said unto the King, why have our brethren the men of* Iudah *stolen thee away, and brought the King and his household & all Davids men with him over* Jordan? *And all the men of* Judah *answered the men of* Israel, *because the King is near of kin to us, Wherefore then be ye angry for this matter? have we eaten at all of the Kings cost? or hath he given us any gift? And the men of* Israel *answered the men of* Judah, *and said, we have ten parts in the King, & we have also more right in* David *then ye, why then did ye despise us, that our advice should not be first had in bringing back our King? and the words of the men of* Judah *were fiercer then the words of the men of* Israel.

2 Sam. 19. 15.

1 *Vnanimi consensu Tremel in loc*

2 Sam 19. 41. 42 43.

Tribules Iehuda & qui pro Davide militarant quibus copiis freti audaciores erant in sua responsione Iunius

Refellendo rationes Israelitarū & ludificando eo insolentius adhuc locuti sunt, quam Israelita. Tremel. in loc.

as

justly despising their pretences to merits and thanks who had so lately so assisted in such a bloody rebellion. The storm thus over of King *Davids* troubles, and the confusions so calmed and allayed by the Kings incomparable wisdome, his Generals courage and conduct in the Army, and the unparaleld counsel and fidelity of *Hushai*, the King was gloriously restored to his throne, the Priests admitted peaceably to attend at the Altar, and all the subjects, both *Iudah* and *Israel* contended for more exact precedency in the duty of loyalty and allegiance. These were the effects of these noble endeavours conferring much advantage to the King and Kingdomes happinesse, & these examples of Fidelity and Loyalty may direct all subjects of future ages to intimate (to their utmost power) the sincere and faithful *Israelite*, and that none may over

over admire, or too much flatter themselves or services, it may prove pertinent and to the purpose to remember that *Hushai* was (first) passionately afflicted, when he heard of the Kings distresse and danger, and dutifully attended his royal person and commands: (secondly) he stirred not from the King until *David* commanded him, (thirdly) that he waited on *Absolon* in his counsels, but not without the Kings privity and instructions; (fourthly) that he exceeded not his commission, but from point to point obeyed the Kings pleasure: (fiftly) that his confidents and the persons to whom he was recommended (for the more happy transactions of the great trust reposed in him) were *Zadock* and *Abiathar* the Priests and their two sons *Jonathan* and *Ahimaaz* men of piety, fidelity and soberness: (sixtly) that *Hushai* was so high in esteem with

Observations on *Hushai*, Obs. I.

Ob. II.

Ob. III.

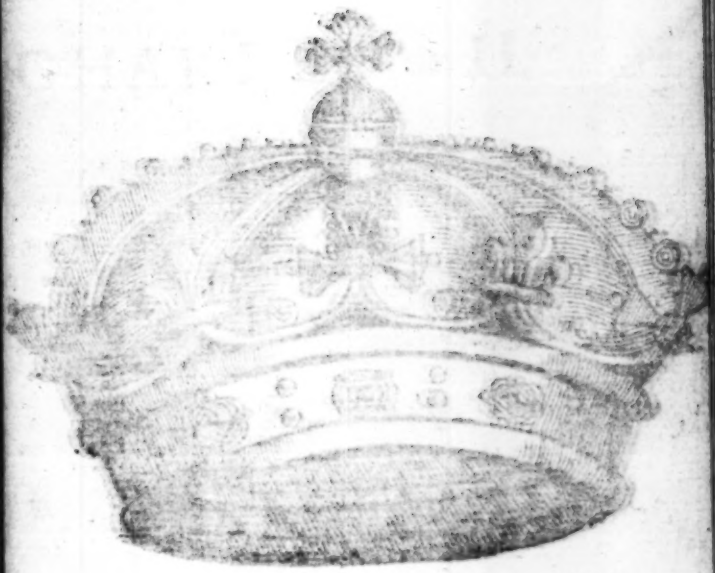
Ob. IV.

Ob. V.

Ob. VI.

with King *David* that he was both by the King and his Enemies, owned as King *Davids* friend, (ſeventhly) that the hand of God did ſignally appear (at this time) in the Kings great deliverance and readvancement to his Throne, for God had appointed, and Commanded it ſhould be ſo: Theſe circumſtances premiſed. It will be the ſafeſt way and moſt honourable: for all ſubjects who; (as deluded Iſraelites have offended their Soveraign, and yielded either to *Abſolons* flattery or *Achitophels* Counſels, and ſo defiled their ſouls with Treaſon and Rebellion:) to become cordial and true converts to their Prince; and laying faſt hold on his mercy and clemency to repent them truly for their crimes and errours. For this is the plain Path to true Content, and high way, and paſſage to Heaven. Ob. VII.

The



The Parallel betwixt King CHARLES the II. *King of* ENGLAND, And LEWIS the IV. *the* FRENCH *King.*

THE *Father of King* Lewis *the fourth of* France *was depoſed, and dead in Priſon: his Subjects in Rebellion; and at the ſame time, he an Exile in* England: *but the ſucceſs of time changed the face of all affairs and ſtrook a deep ſence into the Rebels thoughts, ſo that they who ſo evil entreated the Father, recalled the Son to elevate him to the Royal Throne.*

Behold here that Gallant young Prince at the Sea-ſide, and in the view of thoſe Veſſels; wherein he ſailed, from Dover *to* Calis; *Thus Congratulating his Subjects, before he accepted the preſent of his Scepter.*

Publiſhed firſt. 1654.
Reprinted again. 1659.

LEWIS the IV.

To his Revolted Subjects.

BEfore I ſhall receive your Oath of Fidelity, which I may juſtly demand, and you ought dutifully to take, I ſhall let you know you have recalled (this day) a Prince (who during his Exile) had nothing elſe to doe, but to ſtudy how to Rule and Reign; and hereby I ſhall enforce you to believe that you ſhall not be able to make a Royal Throne a paſſage into my Fathers priſon: And after you have preſented me with a Crown, to dare to wiſh me ſo much ill, as once to think of Chains and Irons. I know well,

well, that this discourse will surprise you, and that you did not believe when you presented me with a Scepter, that I should not rather have received it with Thanks, then Reprehensions; but this act is extraordinary in its commencement, in its progress and in its conclusion; and it is just that all circumstances should be proportionable. Let it then suffice you onely to know, that if I be ignorant to what point Subjects are to pay their obeisance, yet I am not ignorant to what degree Soveraigns may extend their clemency: Notwithstanding there is this difference betwixt them, that the *Subjects have no limits for the first, but Soveraigns have for the latter. The People are obliged to the Princes wills, both by their Births & their Lawes, They owe them their goods, their lives and their libertics; and their Princes owe them nothing but Iustice, which can hardly pardon*

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Traytors. If theſe Truths & Maximes had been equally underſtood, and followed by the late King my Soveraign, and you his People, affairs had not been in that ſad condition as they now are. The State had not been reduc'd to ſuch confuſion; the Provinces had not been Cantonized; *Germany* had not been ſo full of Factions; *Italy* had not been ſo divided; all the Cities of the Kingdom had not had ſo many kings as they now have Governours; you had not been guilty of the crime of Treaſon, in elevating an Uſurper to the Throne, the King my Father might ſtill have Reigned, or (at leaſt) I might have received the Crown from his hands, and not from yours; his Tomb might have been bedewed with my tears, his Scepter had not been prophaned, his Hearſe might have been covered with Trophies, & not with Chains. And (to ſpeak all in a few words)

you might have been *happy and innocent*. But as his *Clemency*, and your *Rebellion* were the ſole cauſers of all theſe evils, ſo your *Obedience*, and my *Iuſtice*, are the only means to make reparation. Conſider a little (I pray you) (that you fall not back in the ſame eſtate wherein you were,) in what Relation you now ſtand; and in what condition I am. Firſt, you have violated all ſorts of Rights in the perſon of your King; you have raiſed a War againſt him; you have aſſaulted him, and afterwards poyſoned him; you have abuſed the confidence he had in you, you have detained him priſoner with as great *Treaſon* as *Injuſtice*, with as great *inſolency* as *cruelty*: an *injury* which was never offered (hardly) to the perſon of an ordinary *Herald*. Thus you have violated, and impudently abuſed your *King*; you have detained him priſoner during a Treatie of Peace,

for

for five years together led him from prison to prison; you have forced him not only to set by his *Militia* and to depose his Crown; but you have constrain'd him with violence to transfer it into other hands then to mine. To conclude, you put him to death, and you have reduced my self to a strict necessitie, to search my safetie in my flight, and to go and shew my miserie beyond the Seas. Yet this is not all, you have done one thing which never any did before, it hath been seen sometimes that the *Grandees* of a Kingdom have interposed themselves against a *Tyranny*, and have destroyed it; but 'twas never seen that they themselves elevated a *Tyrant* to the Throne as *you* have done: In these kind of crimes the Abettors may be said to be more criminal then he who hath received all the fruit: For if each one of you in particular had aspired to set the Crown upon his

own head, you might have been more excuſable, then to have ſnatcht it from your lawfull *Prince* to place it on the head of an *Vſurper*. But you'l ſay to me, *the Prince that bore it was not able to ſupport it*. To that I ſhall anſwer, As I have the honour to be his Son, and was his Subject, it belongeth not to me to determine what he *could*, or what he *could not*: ſeeing he was my *Father*, I ought not to preſume to be his judge, and ſeeing he was my King, I ought not to be ſo impudent to cenſure, much leſſe to condemn his actions, he being not obliged to render an account to any, *But God alone*. Believe then, the ſame reſpect I have for his memorie, you ought to have had for his perſon, he was your King as well as mine: ſeeing then that *Kings are called the Fathers of the people*, Their Subjects are obliged to have for them a true reſentment of a reſpect, which their very

very birth may infuſe into them: Beſides, as *Soveraigns are the true Images of God, and that the ſplendor of their puiſſance is a beam and ray of his power*; Subjects ought to have an equal ſubmiſſion to their Soveraigns will. When you ſee a Comet appear, the Sun eclipſed, the Thunder bolt fall on innocent heads, when you ſee Floods drown whole Towns, by their inundation, and the Sea (paſſing his bounds, and ſwallowing whole Provinces in the bottome of the deep) devour them up: When you ſee an Earthquake make Kingdoms tremble, and cauſe horrid devaſtations of whole Countries, then (I ſay) it is permitted to the People to murmure? Do you not diſcern the contrarie, how in theſe occurrences they redouble their vowes and prayers, and that they are never more obedient to God, then at ſuch a time, as if God had forſaken his providence of the Uni-

verſe? and when it ſhall ſo happen, that Heaven (for the puniſhment of your ſins) gives you a Prince under whoſe Reign *policy* and *prudence* are not well obſerved, during whoſe Government Forraign and Civil Wars devour all with cruell ravages: it belongeth not then to you to reprehend and condemn your Soveraign; for is he feeble? then you ought to ſuſtain him: is he unfortunate? you ought to bemoan him: is he wicked? you ought to look upon him as a ſcourge and chaſtiſement ſent from Heaven, and to wait with Patience for a remedie from that hand, which hath cauſed your evil. For when a Prince commands an Armie, and gives Battail; if it ſo happen that the Souldiers perform not their devoirs and dutie, that his ſquadrons yield, the main body be broken, and (in the end after he hath done even miracles in his perſon, he be yet conſtrained to quit

quit the field, and to retreat from his Enemies? is it not the Prince that loseth the Battail? Is it not the Prince that suffers the disgrace? Is it not the Prince that is reputed vanquisht? And that bears the loss and infamie of the day? Notwithstanding, that by his own particular actions he hath merited to be conqueror? seeing it is thus, why will not you (in such conjunctions) bear with the infirmities, & misfortunes of your Princes, as well as they do with yours? Or (to speak something yet nearer to the quick) why doe you not repair these disorders by your own more exact obedience? The Prince alone is obvious in a Battail to the infamie, Cowardise and misfortune of his whole Army, and you are thousands, who are obliged to strengthen the Authoritie and honour of your King, which he cannot support with his single valour. Believe me, *if all Subjects*

would be loyal, no Kingdome could be miserable: and *if all Princes thought more of severity then of Clemencie, there would not be so many Subjects Rebels.* Moreover, if it were permitted to the Capritious people to take and give Crowns, when they fancied a change: I conceive there is not a Shepheard but might hope to be a King, and not a King but might be reduced to be a Shepheard; so unruly and uncertain are their floating judgements. But (to speak the truth to you) these things ought not thus to pass: we are your *Masters*, and you ought not to become *ours*. It is not that I am ignorant that *God disposeth of Scepters and Crowns, as he pleases, and gives them as he lists, and bestowes them on, or takes them from whom he will, and what he alwayes doth is without all injustice; sometimes permitting that the people shall elevate to the Throne, those who never pretended to such a high*

high degree. But when such an accident happeneth, it is usually in favour to those extraordinary persons in whom Virtue hath impreſt a Royal Character so visible, that it were almost injustice not to admit them Kings. To conclude, that which precedes, and that which follows, ought to be sufficient to justifie the effect, and it became *Charles*, *Martel*, *Pepin*, and *Charlemain* puissantly to erect a Throne, which was not founded upon a line of right succession, yet even in this re-encounter you will see the event to this present hath not authorized your design; The Engine of this enterprize hath been slain in battail: The *Arch-Bishop* of *Rhemes* preserved not his life, but three dayes after he had anointed the Usurper. But it is not seasonable (to-day) to exaggerate the injustice of your proceedings; I am not willing to particularize other things, and I shall satisfie my self with telling

you,

you, in general, that *Kings ought not to loſe their Crowns, but with their lives, and that nothing can diſpenſe Subjects from the reſpect, and loyalty, which they owe to their Soveraigns, nor any pretence (whatſoever) Authorize Treaſon and Rebellion. If ſacred perſons* may not enjoy their particular priviledge, (*which is derived from none but God*) they ſhall be expoſed, more then others, to all ſorts of miſeries; Their guards will appear to them inſtead of enemies, their Thrones will rather ſeem a direful precipice then a place of honour, and ſafety; a *King* (*of this kind*) is no better then an *illuſtrious ſlave*, when he ſhall have as many Maſters as Subjects. This firſt diſorder will quickly cauſe a ſecond, for when the *Nobles* of a Kingdom fail in their duty to their *Prince*, their own *Vaſſals*, and *Tenants* will forfeit their fealtie to them, and then *Rebellion* communicated from the *Grandees*

to

to the *Commons*, and ſo deſcending from one Soul to another, an univerſal confuſion ſwells and devours all. *Every one will command, and no perſon obey*, (and in this reſentment of *Levelling equality*) *each perſon proves a ſlave to his own ambition, & no one, either rationally Commands himſelf or others.* In effect, this is the moſt ſad condition that a Kingdom can fall into, when there is no ſubjection, and where (for their puniſhment) the Prince hath not force to reduce the people to their obedience. For mine own part, when I conſider my ſelf to be the Son of a King, the ſucceſſour of ſo many Kings, and yet, notwithſtanding that I immediately ſucceed not my Father: This *Idea* imprints in me, a ſtrange confuſion as towards you, and an extream grief as towards my ſelf: for when I reflect how the ſame Subjects who inchained *Charles in Fetters*, and gave the Crown to *Robert*,

bert, placed *Lewis* on the Throne, the malice which they bore to the Father, may it not eaſily fall upon the Son? and may not they fear that the Son will revenge the outrages committed againſt the Father? but yet (may ſome one ſay,) thoſe who have ſearcht after you, and paſs'd the Seas to preſent you with a Scepter, they need not fear that the memory of their ancient injuſtice will obliege you to puniſh them: They have reaſon rather to believe, that this ſubmiſſion ſhould blot out the memory of the firſt diſervice: It is certain, *in the exact Rule of juſtice, no noble Action ought to paſs without his recompence:* and it is really as true, *That no crime ought to eſcape without his puniſhment.* After all theſe reaſons, what ought you not to fear? and what not to hope? you have recalled me to the Throne, 'tis true, but if you had not, had you not been as Criminal againſt *Lewis*, as

you

you had been againſt *Charles* ? he who gives to another, that which he hath taken from him, reſtores without doubt that which he hath taken, but his reſtoration is not a free preſent, and he ought not to expect thanks for an Action of that nature. No, it ſufficeth of one puniſh not the firſt, without intending any recompence for the ſecond. I may ſay alſo, that you underſtand not rightly all my preſent concernments; for why? becauſe you have not left me ſtill in exile, becauſe you have rendred what juſtly appertained to me, Becauſe you underſtood that I came to re-demand mine own, not with a powerful Army: and (being tired with your crimes and miſeries) you believe you may probably diſarm the furie of Heaven, by this Act of juſtice: No, no, confide not in any of theſe pretences, for if I had not ſtronger conſiderations then theſe, I ſhould commence my Reign with

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the punishment of your treasons, I should send them to prison, who restrained the person of my Father, & expose them to the most cruel tortures, who contrived and caused his death, with the greatness of his misfortunes. Those black crimes are such which nothing can exterminate; *Repentance and tears from common errours, where humane frailty may plead excuse, and not for Traitors and Rebels, nor for those, who have destroyed Thrones and Scepters, inchaind Kings, created and protected Tyrants.* Think not then, that by taking an Oath of fidelity (which is your dutie) that I am thereby ingaged not to doe what becomes a King. No, I scorn a Throne where I should be a slave, and I had rather be obscured in prison, as my Father was, then not to Reign as Soveraign. *Those people with whom Loyalty is elective forbear not to make their Kings absolute, because they could have*

have no pretence of Iuſtice to do otherwiſe: judge then, if thoſe who hold their Crowns from Heaven ought to acknowledge their ſubjects for their Maſters, & whether they ought not rather to puniſh, or pardon, as beſt agreeth with their pleaſure. In a word, *I find it far more glorious to be a loyal Subject, then to be a King disobeyed.* Prepare then your ſelves to render me all that obedience which you owe me, and (without farther informing you, whether you are to hope more for Clemency or Iuſtice) reſolve your ſelves to an abſolute ſubmiſſion, I know well ſome peeviſh Polititians will cenſure, that I act not as I ought in this conjuncture, and that I ſhould reflect on former paſſages with ſome ſweetneſs, and gratifie you with Preſents, to encourage you with future hopes, but I preſume my Policy is more generous, and more ſecure then theirs; for if I had ſo perſwaded you,

you, perhaps you would have believed me to have been more fit to wear my Fathers *Irons* then his *Crown*; and would have more ſuſpected me of weakneſs and diſſimulation, this exceſſive indulgence would give you more of fear, and me leſs of honour and eſtimation: I (being then ſo far from following ſuch Maximes) tell you once more, that I declare my ſelf to be your King. And (without farther capitulation with you) I aſcend the Throne by the ſteps of mine own Authority as Soveraignly, as if not recalled by you at all. Hitherto I have let you know I am not ignorant how far the duty of Subjects ought to bend: But moreover, I judge it fit to acquaint you to what degree Soveraign Clemency may extend it ſelf; to this end, that by that reſentment, you may reaſonably know what to fear, and what to hope. Know then, that *although a*

Prince

Prince may justly punish Traytors, he may likewise pardon penitent offenders, principally then, when he discerns his pardon shall reclaim insolency to obedience; and fidelity: For, seeing Kings are the Fathers of the people, they ought not alwayes to be too severe in justice; and *seeing that a Prince may afford grace and pardon to his enemies, he may without doubt shew pity and mercy to his own Subjects*: He cannot well punish them all, but must (in part) enfeeble himself; nor sluce out their blood without emptying his own veins; wherefore he ought to spare as far as Reason and Iustice can make the way passable. When then a particular accident grows up against a Prince, or State, it may suffice that the heads of some chief offendors be sacrificed to a reparation, and that by some severe examples, others may be instructed with exemplary terrour. But seeing that

the number of the offendors may prove infinite, and if all ſhould be puniſh't, a deſolation of entire Provinces might ſucceed, and conſequently more men be loſt then 15, main Battails could devour, ſo that the piles of dead corps ſhould make mountains, and ſevere execution of revenge cauſe Rivers of bloud: in ſuch conſiderations (I ſay) it may be better to uſe a great example of Clemencie, then of Iuſtice, and hazard ſomething, rather then to looſe the lives of ſo many miſerable ſouls: and *there cannot be a greater Victory then to vanquiſh ones own paſſion* in ſuch dangerous conjunctures. Fear not then that I ſhall abuſe my Authority, ſince if I ſhould puniſh all who have offended, I ſhould reduce my Kingdom to a forlorn Deſart: For who is there among you that hath not failed of his duty? Some have done miſchief, others have deſired it, or at leaſt permitted

mitted it to be acted : ſome have aſſiſted *Robert*, others have directly fought againſt their King : ſome have moſt perfidiouſly laid their hands upon their *Anointed Lord*, & committed a *ſacred perſon* into priſon, and others have (at leaſt) forſaken him. *The publick good is pretext of all things, but Rebellion alone is the mother of that horrid Monſter.* The Nobles agitated (as they did) for their own intereſt, and the people by their madneſs, and unaviſedneſs, ſeconded their fury, and put in execution the intention of the Parricides : Your wives and your children are not exempt from theſe crimes, ſeeing (without doubt) they made vowes for their Parents offending, and prayers againſt their Prince. Whereas then I cannot puniſh you all, but that I muſt utterly exterminate you ; it reſteth at my choice, whether I would become a King without Subjects, or to par-

don you out of pure grace and bounty, and not by Obligations. It may be that during your lives you may repent you of your ancient crimes, and become as faithful as you have been disobedient. But (perhaps you will tell me) as to our selves, we have repented formerly before we sent to you to come, and receive the Scepter which belongs to you. 'Tis true, it may be as you have said, and that I have considered your Addresses to me were to make reparation of what formerly passed, and that with those hands you would advance to the Throne his Son whose Father you had barbarously removed. But (after all) *Whosoever can abandon the path of Virtue to make choice of that Vice, can again embrace that occasion if presented.* Wherefore you owe greater obligation to me then I can confidence to you; for had I not resolved to shew Grace and Par-

don,

don, the great number of Nobles which the King of *England*, my Uncle, hath preſented to me to attend my perſon, had not come without Souldiers; each one of theſe who incircle me have troops at their command: and I would not have received my Fathers Crown but in the head of a victorious Army, in the midſt of a Field covered with dead, and dying men, bedewed with the blood of ten thouſand Rebels: I would have been the Conquerour of my Kingdom, and not have mounted unto the Throne ſupported by the ſame hands who ſnatcht it from my Fathers head. But I call to mind I am your King, as you are alſo my Subjects, and in this relation I can love you yet, as guilty as you are: I can have pitty for your errors, and kindneſs for your obſtinacy; and I will not put my ſelf into a condition of ſadneſs after the Victory: I am then come to you with-

out an Army, to receive what is mine. This Action (without doubt) is hardy, bold, and well deserveth glory; and is sufficiently obliging to demerit your acknowledgement in all degrees of fidelity. Before that you were criminous, the Divine & humane right conjured you not to forsake your Prince; but this day a new obligation chaineth you to more strict obedience. It is not enough alone to be faithful, so to satisfie your dutie; but it is your part to blot out the memorie of what is past, and to justifie what is present; you ought not to look on me meerly as your King, but as a King of your own choice, as a King who hath pardoned you, as a King who confideth in you, who now is commending his person into your hands, and commits the very care of his life to your protection, next to Heaven: Studie then to gratifie such pressing endearments, and provoke

voke not the wrath of Heaven upon your heads by new rebellions. Those who have examined your bypast actions, approve not (doubtless) that resolution that I have taken to return into *France* as I have done; for (they will tell me) what confidence can you have in those who had no regard to their lawfull Sovereign? They pretend much to desire your presence, but their fears exceed their desires: And it is rather to secure your person, then to advance your Scepter; that though you are this day recalled, yet as long as your youth continu'd, they suffer'd you to live in exile, & obeyed *Robert*; but he being dead (at present) and they seeing that you were in a condition to obtain by force that which they now offer, they seem to repent, not so much regarding your loss, as themselves. Behold the reasons which have here contested with my resolution, which

(seeing they are not without some rational ground) I have not desisted to perswade my self, and that in double choice, whether to make a War with you, or confide in you, I have chose the latter as more glorious, and *I love rather to hazard my person then the destruction of all my Kingdoms.* Those who taught me the art to Reign have well fore-seen the Exigencies to which I am now reduced, and therefore without doubt they took so much care to advise me what to do in justice, and what I might be allowed to doe in Clemencie: These two Virtues appear as contraries, but are not; they accord easily in the heart of a Prince. They mutually give place each one to the other in the Empire of his Soul, according to the divers occasions which are presented, for he ought alwayes to abound in Clemencie, and he ought not likewise to be ever too severe with the strict mea-

measure of justice. *Mercy and justice are two excellent Virtues, but Prudence ought to imploy them both: And the Princes sole Will, ought to be the only rule to guide them.* Having then conjured you to an equal confidence in me, as I have in you, let an Act of Oblivion pass, and *let us remember no more former crimes, unless it be to prevent relapses.* Let us not look on the Tomb of *Charles*, but meerly to bedew it with the tears of tender Repentance: Not to make it an Altar whereupon to sacrifice his Enemies; let us Raze to the ground those horrid Cells which served for his Imprisonments, thereby (if possible) to destroy the memory, and not to leave a mark or point to posterity of those black crimes; let us ascend the Throne with as much splendor as if it had never been prophaned, and let us Reign (if possible) with more honour and tranquillity then the late

King

King my Soveraign did. But do not think I ſhall be able to effect it without the aid and ſuccours of my Subjects; deceive not your ſelves, *the valour and prudence of the Prince are not ſufficient of themſelves to make a Kingdom happy*: The Subjects ought to contribute their proportions. The Nobles are to offer their loyal Obedience, and the people to follow their good example, and both degrees ought to be united in virtue: for otherwiſe he who giveth Victory and Maſters Fortune, will approve the virtue of the Prince in puniſhing the vice of the Subjects. *Thoſe who are valiant, do not alwayes gain the Battail; and thoſe who are wiſe, are not alwayes fortunate*: However let us place our ſelves in ſuch a capacity, that we may be ſucceſsfull, though we cannot merit it. See here what your Prince hath ſaid unto you, who in Lieu of puniſhing you, hath pardoned you; inſtead of

fighting

fighting with you, prepares to defend you; instead of being your Enemy, becomes your Conservator, and who by his own birth and your choice, is now your Lord, your Master, and your King. These two qualities permit me not to Capitulate farther with you: It sufficeth that I onely adde this; That I admit you to hope for clemencie, whilest I Reign, as I wish you to fear alwayes my justice, and beware that you put not your selves in a condition to make tryal of the second, or of looſing the former.

FINIS.

The Cenſure on King

LEWIS the IV.

of FRANCE.

C. *Iulius Cæſar* did in his youth [a] ſparkle and radiat forth, the beams of Majeſty: who, avoiding the rage of *Sylla*, and then falling into the hands of the *Cilician Pyrats*; contemn'd thoſe barbarous Sea-Rovers: who asking a poor ſum for *Cæſars* Ranſome, francly promiſed twice as much as they demanded, and being detained until his Ranſome was paid; boldly commanded the ſlaves to ſilence: and not

[a] *C. Iulius Cæſar quum Sullam fugeret etiamnum adoleſcens incidit in Piratas Cilices: deriſit prædones valde quòd ignaros cepiſſent; ſeque duplum dare pollicitus eſt; imperavit illis ut ſilerent nec ſibi dormienti ob ſtreperent. Stupidos ac barbaros appellabat, cumque riſu minitabatur ſe illos allaturum in crucem, quod & perfecit.*

not to dare to interrupt their Prisoners rest with noise. When they vilifyed verses and orations of *Cæsars* own Composure, he called them dull and stupid barbarians; and was so incensed & highly displeased, that he did threaten the villains with the *Gallows*, which decree and resolution, was in a short time, most puissantly effected. And as *Cæsar*; so *Alexander* did suffer no thought to rise from his magnanimous soul; but what was truly Great and Noble. b It is from the stemm, and Root of Royalty, that Princely Actions bud and Germinate; and such an action and endeavour, became *Lewis*, (at this juncture and glorious opportunity,) which did carry with it, much of generosity, as well as prudence, and did not so much savour of fierceness and the impetuosity of youth: as of the sage and noble Conduct of a truly Generous and magnanimous *Prince*. Yet some

b *Plutarch. An non hic statim magnis indolem Alexandri Magni? cui nihil mediocre satis esse posset? idem in vitâ.*

ſome may object, and politickly urge, what ſtate, prudence, counſelled this young Monarch to ſpeak to his Subjects ſo high, when he was ſo low? and having ſcarce got well on horsback, thus to ſalute his Subjects; who had there Arms in their hands? Rebels, Subjects, who had lately tumbled his Father from the Throne, who had torn the Crown from of his Sacred Head, changed his Scepter into chains, and his Pallace into a priſon? might not this bold entrance to the Throne have rather provoked them to deſperation then obedience? and raiſed a new tempeſt, which could not be appeaſed without much difficulty? might not this noiſe have ſerved to awaken them to freſh jealouſies and fears, which their own prudence ſhould have taught them? Certainly this objection (at the firſt view) ſeems invincible, that *Lewis* did not appear ſo diſcreet and judi-

cious

cious; as his condition required, notwithſtanding he failed not in his kingly craft, for whoſoever ſhall examine this great Action from the bottom, and weigh the arguments maturely, will be convinced of this opinion, and neither condemn the Generoſity, nor the reſolution of *Lewis* in this eminent action. The Counſels of prudence prove different, according to ſeveral conjunctures of occaſions, and ought to change their countenances according to the preſent diverſities, and important alterations of affairs. And, as hardy and bold reſolutions are not alwayes ſeaſonable, ſo neither are timorous and fearfull proceedings ever wiſe and ſafe: that Polititian who trembles, and is not confident, who dares do nothing generouſly and ſtoutly, for fear he may prove too raſh and inconſiderate, ſhall be ſeldome fortunate, he is too ſpeculative a Contemplator,

plator, and proves rarely quick, and active. And whiles he amuseth himself with curious Considerations, whether he should, or should not undertake the enterprise, whether he should speak or be silent, be an industrious actor, or a dull flegmatick spectator, the opportunity (by this time) may be well lost, the stars change their situations, Aspects alter, & so the fatal moment, whereon depended the good or ill success of a grand design, slip clean away without advantage. The Philosopher (whom some censured overwise) found that his tedious doating on too much consideration brought forth no fruit but folly, and that his most subtile conclusions were no better then fancies and dreams, of one newly awaked out of sleep. The Augurs telling an old Captain that the pullets would not eat; he quickly discern'd the mystery, and answered, if they would not eat except

cept they drank, they ſhould have their fill, and ſo cauſed them to be flung into the Sea; at which ſummons he gave battail to his enemies and gain'd the day. An old ſouldier told his General, that their enemies were twenty times more then they; but he replyed gallantly, and for how many then doſt thou account me? Another told his General that the enemies darted Arrowes like ſhowres of hail; he replyed inſtantly, 'tis ſo much the better for us, we ſhall fight againſt empty quivers, and but ſhadows of men. The Policy[c] of high born Heroes, and low-hearted peaſants is not the ſame. The mariners diſpute in one faſhion aboard their ſhips, and the Commanders and ſouldiers after another in their Trenches. And as theſe perſons are very diſtinct, and different in their qualities, ſo are they in their

[c] *Cæſar quum maximi Pontificis ambiret dignitatem (competitore Qu. Catulo.) ô mater aut inquit, Pontificem habebis filium; aut exulem: excelſa indoles omniſque repulſa*

M Coun-

impatiens. Eraſmus Apo de Cæſare. Plutarch. in vita I. Cæſar.

Counsels, and agitations. Those who walk in dangerous precipices ought to march boldly, if they intend to pass securely. And in those attempts, he who stayes to measure the depth of peril in his way, either will prove so fearful as not to adventure, or else will be in great danger of a ruinous fall. To judge then of the Action of *Lewis* the *fourth*, a man ought to consider, what this Prince preponderated, how his Fathers gentleness and civility was his ruine, that he spoke to the same Rebels, who had ravisht his Fathers Crown from his head, and depriv'd his person of his liberty: And that by the same capricious humour they recall'd the Son; who had destroyed the father, and left that sore might rankle and swell again, and so infect and destroy the Son as it had the Father, it concerned him to let them know, that he came now to inherit his Fathers Kingdom, and not

not his infirmities. That, though first impressions may exchange, or obliterate ill humours, yet it is with great hazard and difficulty. Wherefore it was more important to his purpose to strike deeper at the root at first, to gain advantages. If *Lewis* his feet had been seen to tremble, when he was to ascend the Throne, he must have then discovered a capacity to fall again. If he had received the Crown with a dull and phlegmatick deportment, he had been rather made a King by his *Lords* and *Masters* then his *Subjects*, and he would have unfolded to his people the passion of cowardly fear, rather then have procured due regard from them. We may conclude then, that this Prince was wise in being *stout* and *Gallant* in this occasion, that his Policy was not indiscreet, and (coping with souldiers, and men of armes and valour) his discourse was not im-

proper, as containing nothing that might give the ſhock to Soveraign prudence: but rather, on the contrary; what well became the Grandeur, and Majeſty of a King.

FINIS.

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